REMINISCENCES

ETC.

By the same Author.

A BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF GEN. CHARLES A. BROWNE,

Formerly Military Secretary to the Government at Madras; afterwards Honorary Secretary to the Church Missionary Society.

Accompanied by Personal Reminiscences.

OF

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DUBLIN: GEORGE HERBERT, 117 GRAFTON ST.

LONDON: HATCHARDS.

REMINISCENCES

OF

LIFE IN MYSORE,

SOUTH AFRICA,

AND

BURMAH.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL R. S. DOBBS,

Author of "Reminisences of Christian Life in India."

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PREFACE.

I AM encouraged by the reception of my little volume, "Reminiscences of Christian Life in India, by a General Officer," to venture again before the public, continuing my Reminiscences in a wider circle, and on a greater variety of subjects.

My principal object as regards Mysore is to present to my many Indian friends, and to others interested in India, a brief life-like sketch of a disorganised Native State when first brought under British rule, and the gradual civilisation of that State under what was known as the "non-regulation system."

Much has been written of an abstract character, and in a general way of this system, and of the improvements effected by it in different provinces; but I have not seen any work recording the details of the consecutive reforms which changed a province

almost ruined by oppression and neglect into a state of prosperity, liberty, and comparative freedom from crime, such as might be favourably compared, I will not say with my poor unhappy country, but even with England.

It may be asked, Why confine your narrative to only one out of the four Divisions of the Territory? My reply is, I could not possibly give life and freshness to transactions which came to me at second-hand. Nor could I speak with confidence and spirit of acts performed by others.

My readers will perceive that there is no attempt at book-making, but that I write as I would speak. They will also observe, what I avow, that I wish to impress on public men, especially on the young, that intense religious conviction and active zeal for Christ are not only compatible with similar zeal in the discharge of secular duties, but are (which I aver to be the case) a great help, enabling a man to possess a peace of mind in the midst of difficulties and distractions which one who has not a real trust in God cannot know.

There may be an appearance of contrasting my own zeal and success with that of my fellow-Commissioners; but it could not be so in my case, as the

Commissioners of the two adjoining Divisions of Ashtagrame and Nugger (Captain Chalmers and Mr. Stokes), were my dear friends, to whose brilliant abilities and great experience I looked for guidance.

No doubt each officer was influenced by his own tastes and mental constitution to give greater attention to one branch of the Administration than to another; but each profited from the experience of the others; and eventually the same success was obtained in every branch throughout the Territory.

We all owed a deep debt of gratitude to the wise and able statesman, Sir Mark Cubbon, who was ever generous and considerate—restraining the impetuous temperament of some, and encouraging those of a more timid and cautious disposition.

South Africa.

Much has been written about South Africa, describing the various tribes, the wars, and the feats of daring European sportsmen, but I have not seen any work giving an account of the religious intercourse which existed among the members of the East Indian Civil and Military services, who congregated in the delightful colony of the Cape of Good Hope

in search of health, and their intercourse with the resident gentry.

It may be well, therefore, before the peculiar features of those days are forgotten, to furnish some record of them.

Formerly leave to Europe entailed on civil and staff officers the loss of their appointments; and they, in common with regimental officers, lost their Indian allowances while in Europe, so they resorted to the Cape.

The second part of this little book gives the Reminiscences of one who resided for eighteen months in the Colony, and who can look back on that time as the most enjoyable period of his life.

Restored, soon after my arrival, to perfect health and vigour, I was able to give myself up entirely to active work for my God and Saviour; and my full union with all Protestant Churches opened to me an amount and variety of engagements which no man fettered by sectarian principles or feelings, in or out of the Church of England, could have enjoyed.

A really youthful feeling with a glow of delight fills my soul when Cape of Good Hope memories come into my thoughts. I look back with thankfulness to my Heavenly Father's loving-kindness, in

granting me the privilege of being one of the first pioneers in evangelistic work among my own class, at a time when lay-preaching was considered by some as a presumptuous interference with the official position of ordained ministers, while others considered it fanatical and vulgar.

I bless God that I have lived to see a great change in the views of all parties on the question of lay-ministrations, and that now, not only a host of gentlemen, but also many of our nobles, are zealous evangelists.

I am now a confirmed invalid, and can never again lift up my voice to address a public assembly; but my forced retirement is greatly sweetened by reading of the blessing attending the labours of others.

BURMAH.

AFTER completing my Reminiscences of South Africa, I received a letter from a brother-officer, who served with me at Rangoon, which has induced me to add some particulars of my sojourn in Burmah.

R. S. DOBBS,
Major-General.

GREYSTONES, CO. WICKLOW,
February, 1882.

MYSORE.

CHAPTER I.

Appointed an Assistant in the Mysore Commission—Evangelistic Work in Bangalore—Appointed Superintendent of the Chittledroog Division.

IN the beginning of June, 1834, accompanied by my wife, I arrived in Bangalore, and at once entered on my duties as an assistant in the Mysore Commission, an entirely new line of work to me, but I had the great advantage of being heartily and cordially guided, in acquiring a knowledge of my civil duties, by my dear friends Capts. Clarke and Chalmers, Secretaries to the Commission.

Although most of the officers and ladies who assembled week after week in Major O'Brien's house when I was his guest in the beginning of 1828, had left the station, others had taken their place, who met once a week in Capt. Clarke's house. While greatly enjoying these meetings, as also a weekly prayer-meeting in the London Mission Chapel, I was constrained to look out for evangelistic work, having the evenings after five o'clock free from official duties.

Notwithstanding the introduction of Sunday-schools in Madras two years previously, there was not one in

this large station, neither in the Cantonment nor Fort. As the civil offices were situated in the latter, I took a house in that locality, and soon ascertained that there was a large number of European and East Indian children living there, who attended the Government day-school, but for whose religious instruction no provision was made. With the sanction of the Commissary of Ordnance, who had the supervision and control of the school, I immediately commenced a Sunday-school, in which I was aided by some of the conductors and other residents of both sexes. I also held a weekly prayer-meeting on an evening which did not clash with any of the services in the Cantonment.

I was delighted to find that the 7th Native Cavalry, amongst the farriers and trumpeters of which regiment I had laboured in Sholapore in 1828-29, had recently come to Bangalore, some of whom, pre-eminently the Trumpet-Major, Tod, remained steadfast in their Christian profession; and at their earnest request, I held a weekly meeting in the Trumpet-Major's house, which was well attended by both men and women.

Thus I spent fourteen months very pleasantly, taking an interest in all Mission work, while personally labouring among Europeans. This happy life, however, soon terminated, for in August, 1835, the Chief Commissioner offered me the acting appointment of Superintendent in the Chittledroog Division. I respectfully declined the promotion, pleading my inexperience, which, I must confess, was not my only objection, for I did not

relish the prospect of being cut off from all Christian society, and above all from my evangelistic engagements. The Chief Commissioner appeared to acquiesce, and I considered the question settled for the present; but four days after, Colonel Cubbon called me into his room, saying, "Here are instructions from the Governor-General, which leave me no option. You must at once proceed to Chittledroog, and relieve Popham." This officer was a Madras civilian of good abilities and well qualified for the important and arduous duties involved in the administration of a newly-acquired territory, but his health had broken down almost immediately after assuming charge, so that virtually his successor was the first Superintendent. Mr. Popham remained a few days with me, which afforded the opportunity for much conversation on eternal realities. He left me deeply impressed, handing me a sum of money for the family of the Rev. Thomas Scott, the commentator, for whom I was making a collection. He was obliged soon after to resign the service and leave India on account of his health. I may mention that he married a lady with considerable landed property near Oban in Scotland, and settled down in her beautiful place, to which he invited me when I went home in 1856, an invitation which, to my regret, I could not accept.

CHAPTER II.

Circumstances which led to the Deposition of the Rajah of Mysore and Appointment of a Commission—State of the District—Attempted Thefts—Incidents on first tour.

FOR a time, my whole energies were devoted to my civil duties, my only spiritual engagement being public worship on Sunday for a few Christian subordinates; but no press of work was allowed to interfere with my habits of prayer and meditation on God's Word.

As my out-door engagements commenced at six o'clock, I invariably rose at half-past four. I would be dishonouring God if I did not confess that I could not have discharged my duties to my own satisfaction unsupported by a realization of my Heavenly Father's presence and guidance, to be sought not only in regular hours of retirement, but equally by lifting up the soul at all times, especially in difficulties.

It may not be uninteresting to many of my readers to be told something of the way in which countries in India have, on their first acquisition been governed; and the information will not probably be considered less interesting because described from personal knowledge.

After the fall of Seringapatam, in which Tippoo Sultan was slain, and the Mohammedan power destroyed, the British Government placed the hereditary Rajah of Mysore, a child of five years old, on the throne. During

his minority, the affairs of the country were conducted by a Dewan, or Prime Minister, under the general guidance of a British Resident. This Dewan, the well-known Poorniah, proved himself to be a statesman of the highest order, as well as a just and honourable man. Tranquillity was maintained, and a large surplus revenue realized yearly by him; but the improvement of the country, by the construction of roads and lessening the burdens of the people, was never contemplated.

The young Rajah assumed the reins of government in the year 1811, and found a full treasury and the people outwardly contented. Though a kind-hearted youth, he was self-willed, and at once launched into ways of wildest extravagance, especially in giving enormous sums to the Brahmins, temples, and dancing girls. To meet this lavish expenditure, the Rajah farmed out the revenue in various ways, which led to the oppression of the ryots or cultivators, and threw the whole country into anarchy and confusion, which, in 1830-31, culminated in a rebellion. When this was suppressed, the complaints of the people were inquired into, and conclusive evidence was elicited of the Rajah's incapacity to rule, rendering it necessary that the supreme Government should provide for the protection of the ryots.

The account of the preliminary arrangement that followed does not come within the scope of my narrative; it is sufficient to say, that in 1834 a Chief Commissioner, and four Superintendents (or Commissioners) were appointed for the government of the whole country, which

was divided into four districts or provinces, with an aggregate area of about 30,000 square miles.

Over one of these districts called Chittledroog, as a young British officer, I was placed, and was vested with undivided power in every department, with only a few general rules to guide me, but with the advantage of not only being authorised to apply officially for instructions whenever I thought necessary, but also to correspond freely with the experienced Chief Commissioner. I would now describe the state in which I found this district. There were no roads or bridges, and the works of irrigation had been long neglected. A large proportion of the land had been left uncultivated; every article, not only of luxury, but even grain, was taxed, and there were custom-houses on all the principal lines of traffic some ten miles apart. The land-tax was subject to a constant increase in proportion to the expenditure for improvements laid out on it; for instance, if, for an acre of dry land a rent of £1 was paid, and the farmer laid out £100 in irrigating it, the rent was increased to at least £3 or £4. But the particulars of these taxes will be considered hereafter under the head of reforms.

Every Government appointment, civil or military, was obtained by bribery, tacitly allowed by the Rajah. Not only were the forests, but even the open country, infested by wild beasts, numerous herds of antelope of different kinds destroyed the crops, and the wild boar eat up the valuable sugar cane. Worst of all, the police were in league with the robbers, as will be described in a separate chapter.

I would, in the meantime, narrate some incidents connected with my first tour in October, 1835, six weeks after assuming charge of the Division.

Our first march was to Cuddub, a large town twenty miles from my head-quarters. I of course rode, but my wife travelled in a palanquin. All along the road I was greeted at each town and village with arches of flowers placed across the road, and a procession of the villagers, amongst whom prominently walked the temple dancing-girls, which was considered a special mark of distinction. This practice I had much difficulty in stopping, as the people could not enter into my objections. These women, though called the wives of the gods, were brought up by the Brahmin priests to a life of immorality.

On getting up the next morning, I observed the light shining through the walls of our sleeping-tent, and found that both the outer and inner walls had been cut through during the night, and my writing-desk, which was lying open on my table, was gone. On going outside, I found the desk open as I had left it the previous evening, and not a single article missing, not even the rupees which it contained. Though I was a very light sleeper, the thief had passed under our bed to the table, and though there was no light in the tent, carried off the desk without awakening us.

From my subsequent knowledge, I believe the thieves had got alarmed at the thought of robbing the Chief Magistrate.

From Cuddub we marched to Chicknaikenhulli, a large and prosperous town, where we encamped under a splendid Banyan tree (sufficiently large to shelter a regiment); it was subsequently blown down in a great storm.

The Dessarah or principal Hindu feast, was held at this time, and I received all the principal inhabitants, sitting on a chair at my tent door. While thus engaged, a large troop of little Brahmin girls (many of them betrothed or married, as marked by their dress), walked in a circle round me several times, and presented me with flowers. While pondering on this unusual and extraordinary honour shown me by the daughters of the principal inhabitants, some of these fascinating and really beautiful children, asked me to give money to the feast. The object of the parents was now evident;—a bold attempt to obtain my countenance to their idolatrous festival. It was really a trying moment to me; my heart said, How can you resist their sweet innocent smiles?—oh, it is only giving a few rupees to little girls. I, however, realised by God's grace that this affair was pregnant with importance, His own honour and glory being at stake. I might in a moment of weakness compromise my character, not only as a Christian, but as a Christian ruler; but while acting with decision, I then, as ever afterwards, treated the natives with consideration. Not being sufficiently acquainted at that time with the vernacular language (Canarese) to explain myself on a difficult subject, I directed one of my interpreters to explain that while I could not in any way identify my-

self with their religion, neither would I interfere with it; that my religion forbade countenancing any religion I did not approve of. They, of course, expressed themselves satisfied, and apologised for the forwardness of the little girls. Never afterwards was any similar honour shown to me.

My wife had now to return to Bangalore for a time, escorted by me to the boundary of my Division, from which she proceeded by night on her journey.

As Mohammedans are not generally supposed to be very gallant to ladies, it may not be amiss to mention this incident. When passing a deep stream, swollen by heavy rain, the bearers became rather unsteady, which, being observed by a police-officer, a Mohammedan of high family, he plunged into the water and assisted them across.

On returning to my camp another incident occurred which may not be considered uninteresting. One evening I went to my open writing-desk, which lay on a side-table in my tent, when I found that a bag of gold pieces had been taken from it. Having seen my dressing-boy, a Mohammedan, go to the table during the day, the conviction flashed across my mind that he was the thief, and that as I was to march early the next morning he would place the money under the mattrass of my palanquin, which was between the walls of my tent. I immediately sent for my dressing-boy, and in the presence of many persons in my tent charged him with the offence, adding that I knew very well where he had concealed

the bag. I at once went to the palanquin, put my hand under the mattrass, and to the astonishment of the police and others present, pulled out the bag.

I would here mention, that with the exception of the attempted robbery at Cuddub, and this attempt, I was never again molested by professional or other thieves—the failure of the two first attempts produced a salutary dread among all classes.

During this first tour the feeling of terror among the people, from the daring exploits of robbers, and the ravages of tigers, panthers, and leopards was brought prominently to my notice. When riding at night, the watch-call of the inhabitants reached me from the villages, and I had almost daily reports of large gangs plundering, or attempting to plunder, the houses of the most wealthy inhabitants, while travellers were often compelled to leave the direct roads and make a circuit to avoid the wild beasts.

In order to give my readers a clear idea of what the district was when I first took charge of it, and the altered state of things in a few years, I will give a condensed narrative of different branches in the order in which I prominently gave my attention to each; I will, accordingly, begin with the police and robbers.

CHAPTER III.

PROFESSIONAL ROBBERS.

THERE were three classes of professional robbers in the Chittledroog Division, Lumbanes, Coarchers, and Koramers. The Lumbanes correspond with the Gipsies in Europe; they never engaged in agricultural pursuits or manual labour, with the exception of cutting down wood for fuel, which, generally, the women carried to the villages, on their heads. This class formed distinct gangs, and lived in tents and huts of a temporary character, which they put up in the vicinity of some town. Their chief occupation was that of carrying grain, salt, &c., on pack bullocks. The women, many of them tall and good-looking, wore garments composed of pieces of various colours, and were covered with ornaments.

These gangs generally remained a considerable time in the same encampment, from which the men would make a rapid raid on some village fifty, or even one hundred miles off, having previously, when travelling as carriers, fixed upon the houses to be attacked. After committing the robbery the gang would proceed during the night to some jungle thirty or forty miles distant, and there conceal themselves till the following night, when they would return to their camp.

The Coarchers were carriers also, but generally used

asses instead of bullocks. Their ostensible livelihood was obtained by making baskets of all kinds, which involved their forming camps in the jungles. This class were more addicted to petty thieving, except when enlisted by the Koramers for some great undertaking.

The Koramers were the hereditary thieves of the country, and were very superior to all others in physique and intelligence. Originally they had unwritten laws of their own, very similar to those of the Irish Land Leaguers, and like them, had really more influence than the Government. They were not a numerous class, and lived in the villages with ostensible occupations, chiefly that of money-lenders. Each family of Koramers had a certain number of villages under its protection, who paid black mail to be secured from molestation by the members of their fraternity; and if a robbery *did* take place, the local Koramers were bound to recover the stolen property.

The practical working of this system was very different from what had been contemplated. Robbers from a distance would plunder a village, and be pursued by the Koramers, who, however, seldom recovered more than a small portion of the stolen property, and the villagers lived in a state of constant dread. As this tribe of professional robbers was wealthy, when any of their number were detected they could bribe the police, and the sufferers were afraid to complain. In ancient times their laws did not admit of their breaking into a house in any way, except by digging through the wall, and the

individual who was selected to enter was bound by the most solemn religious vows, if on discovery he could not escape, to thrust his head through the hole rather than allow himself to be seized; his head was then cut off and carried away by his accomplices to prevent identification. Though these ancient customs had been long abandoned, the Koramers remained very strict in the performance of their religious duties, and were very superstitious.

CHAPTER IV.

Steps taken to Capture Robbers.—Police Experiences.

ON my return to head-quarters from my first tour, I held an assembly of the principal inhabitants of Toomkoor and of experienced public officials, for consultation as to the best mode of delivering the country from an oppression under which all the more wealthy classes were groaning.

Perhaps my readers might fail to guess the conclusions arrived at by the whole assembly—their recommendations were two—one was that the old system of black mail should be revived and encouraged; the other that there should be a return to the ancient practice of mutilation, that is, of cutting off hands, feet, noses, &c. With an indignation natural to a young Irishman, I repudiated their uncivilised and barbarous suggestions; as contrary

to my own feelings, as they were to British law. I, however, pledged myself to exterminate the Koramers without outraging humanity and justice.

From the experience already acquired, I was, however, satisfied that owing to the corruption and negligence of the police, it would be necessary for me to take a personal part not quite consistent with my high position. On hearing of my intentions, the Chief Commissioner wrote to me privately, expressing his disapproval of my performing the duties of a police-officer, using the words, "What might happen to Lieut. Dobbs might be of no consequence, but if the Superintendent of the Chittledroog Division was knocked on the head, the consequence would be most disastrous." I simply replied that a desperate disease required a desperate remedy, and that I had no fears of any harm happening to the Superintendent.

I may, before entering into particulars, mention here, that in a few years not a single adult Koramer remained at large in the Chittledroog Division. The greater number had been captured and convicted, and the rest fled to other districts; and the large gang robberies, which had averaged from fifty to sixty in the year, were reduced to four or five annually.

I will now endeavour to give a simple description of a few of my early police experiences. A few months after the consultation referred to, an extensive robbery took place near Kotagerry, sixteen miles from my head-quarters. As usual the police failed to trace the robbers;

but one morning a Brahmin came to me privately, and said he would give full information if I would hold him exonerated from any apparent participation in what he was about to divulge; to this I of course acceded. He then told me the decoity or gang-robbery was perpetrated by three brothers (and their followers), who lived in a small village four or five miles from Cuddub, and twenty-five from Toomkoor, my head-quarters. The village, he said, was situate on high ground, and about two hundred yards from a jungle. These brothers were famed for their daring, but from fear of detection were never to be found together in their village except on Saturdays, when they met in the family temple to perform their religious ceremonies. On this occasion, in addition to their immediate followers, they collected a number of men of bad character, and successfully carried out the raid. On receiving this information I sent two detectives, disguised as beggars, to examine the village and bring me full particulars. This they effected without exciting suspicion, and their report enabled me to form my plans for the apprehension of the brothers. I was at the time encamped at Seerah, about twenty-five miles from Cuddub, which was too great a distance to admit of my openly commencing operations: keeping therefore my information private, I sent a portion of my establishment, accompanied by the usual escort of Sepoys, police and horsemen, to Cuddub, with instructions to the Amildar of that place to have accounts prepared in connection with certain revenue inquiries I proposed to make. I

arranged to proceed there on Friday, but on Thursday evening received an express from Capt. Clarke, Secretary of the Commission, informing me that my infant-child was dangerously ill. I started immediately for Bangalore, and found on my arrival next day that the child had recovered. My difficulty then was what to do about the robbers. I had made a hurried journey of eighty miles and was dead tired. Was I at once to start upon another long journey without rest? I had given no orders to my officials. Might I not then, without any apparent neglect of duty, postpone my plan of operations, and hope for another favourable opportunity? No, my conviction was that if I delayed, the robbers would get wind of my intention and give me the slip. I consequently started on Friday evening, and reached my camp at Cuddub, the following morning.

My detective had just come from the robber village, in the vicinity of which he had been keeping watch, and reported that the brothers had assembled there. The Brahmin informant deprecated my proceeding there by daylight, urging there were always scouts on the look-out, and it would be easy for the brothers to make their escape into the jungle. I had, however, formed my plans. I sent a party of police and Sepoys by a circuitous route through the jungle, with instructions to keep themselves concealed till they saw me approach the village, and then to emerge. I then took my breakfast, and allowed what I considered sufficient time for the footmen to arrive at their destination. I then

mounted a sowar's (or trooper's) horse, my own not having arrived, and started with an escort of twenty mounted men. When at some distance from the village I observed a tope (grove) of trees between us and it. We advanced under cover of this tope, and having reached it, dashed on at full speed. We were, however, pulled up by a ravine, which I cleared, but not one of my troopers would follow. Just as I reached the village alone, two of the brothers rushed out on the jungle side, but were intercepted by the police, and after offering some little resistance, captured. The third brother could not be found, which threw my Brahmin informant into a state of tremendous alarm. He exclaimed his life would be forfeited if all were not apprehended; by his aid the missing man was at last found hidden under some straw; the houses were in the meantime searched, and a large quantity of stolen property found.

Having secured the principals, a full investigation was made, which resulted in the apprehension and conviction of fifty accomplices, some of them being receivers of the stolen property. The brothers were sentenced to hard labour for life, and the rest of the gang to various terms of imprisonment.

I would conclude this narrative by mentioning that the Brahmin was an accomplice, and had brought on himself the wrath of the brothers by his intimacy with the mistress of one of them, and saw no way of escape from assassination but the one he adopted.

After the above-mentioned capture, I returned to my

camp at Seerah, chiefly to inquire into the complaints of the inhabitants about almost nightly depredations by individual robbers. One night, about eleven o'clock, on my extinguishing my light, there was a great uproar in my camp. I jumped up, and as I was, in my night attire and slippers, rushed out, and saw some men running away. Joined by some of the police guards, I pursued, but failed to overtake them. I, however, ascertained that these men knew that my camel man kept his money in his turban, which they knocked off and carried away.

On returning from my pursuit, my blood being up, I ordered, notwithstanding the late hour, a roll-call of the inhabitants of the town, being persuaded that the robberies were committed by some of themselves. Two of the watchmen were found absent, who did not turn up till noon next day, and could not give a very satisfactory explanation of their absence. A punchayet, or jury, was convened to examine into the case, who convicted them of the robbery. I had no doubt, from all I heard, that the so-called guardians were in league with the thieves; but though legally convicted, there was no evidence on which a British judge could confirm the verdict. I took, however, advantage of that verdict to impress upon them the fact that though I could pass a severe sentence, I would let them off for this time, but that the continuation of robberies would subject them to severe punishment. The effect of the prompt measures adopted was that for some years the town of Seerah was exempted from all robbery.

I will now, to vary my narrative, give an account of an unsuccessful raid. One evening at nine o'clock a report was brought to me that a large body of Dacoits (not Koramers), who had been plundering the country, had gone to a range of hills ten or twelve miles from my camp. I immediately ordered my cavalry escort, twenty troopers, to get ready, and my own horse to be saddled. We started with guides for the hills in question, and reached the place indicated about 2 A.M.; but to our regret found the gang had escaped, leaving their cooking utensils in their encampment. We decided, however, to remain in the locality, in the hope of obtaining some information as to their whereabouts. It was a cold November night, and I sat down in an open shed on a bundle of straw, with my back to the wall, and in this position slept till daybreak. When I awoke, I found, to my horror, I could not move, being paralysed by the cold. On realising what was the matter, with a violent effort I got on to my feet, and by walking about gradually recovered; mounted my horse and returned to the tents, where I was glad to get some hot tea. Whilst at breakfast, some men rushed into my tent, saying the robbers had been seen in a certain valley: this proved to be a false report.

Shortly after, two desperate gang robberies were committed in the same night; one at Gubee, and the other at Chelloor, large villages not far from my head-quarters. I ascertained these were perpetrated by a gang, led by a notorious chief, called Hanamuntoo, and that the Ko-

ramers of his gang resided in several villages in the Bangalore Division, about twenty-four miles from Toomkoor.

On the night in question, this gang divided into two parties, of thirty each, and attacked the above-mentioned villages. I obtained this information from a man who resided in the Bangalore Division, and who gave me such full details regarding the villages of these robbers, that I was enabled to send during the night, under his guidance, a large body of police to capture the gang. The rules in force did not require me to communicate with the magistrate of the adjoining district—a very great advantage in the then unsettled state of the country.

My police were only partially successful, but captured Hanamuntoo and twelve of his gang, the remaining forty-eight escaped, and fled from the Mysore territory. I put the captured men on their trial, but could not get sufficient legal evidence to convict them. As they were all notorious professional robbers I kept them under restraint, hoping eventually to obtain the necessary proof. Six years elapsed, when an unusually daring robbery was reported in the neighbouring Division of Ashtagram, one rich merchant having lost 17,000 rupees' worth of property, while a sepoy was shot when endeavouring to assist the police to effect a capture. The Superintendent, Major Montgomery, sent me the usual intimation, and strict orders were issued to the border Amildars, or sub-magistrates, to be on the look-out in event of any of the robbers crossing the frontier.

A few days after, the Amildar of Boodehal forwarded to my court five men regarding whom he had suspicions. These men were sent to jail, and the next day one of the jail peons told me that Hanamuntoo wished to have a confidential interview. On his being brought into my presence, he informed me, under influences which will appear hereafter, that the men brought from Boodehal belonged to his old gang, and had, with many others, been concerned in the recent dacoity in Ashtagram. On these men being confronted with Hanamuntoo they professed entire ignorance of him; on which he said to me, "Do you recollect, sir, that in the deposition taken from the Chelloor gowda (whose house was robbed), he stated that he had seriously wounded one of the robbers on the shoulder with a sword; now, examine that man's shoulder, and you will find the scar." Sure enough, there was the deep scar of a sword cut. When the prisoners, after examination, were going down the steps from my court, they were overheard by a police peon, saying, that they would give information against Hanamuntoo's relatives. These remarks were at once communicated to me, and the prisoners recalled. In reply to my inquiry, they admitted they had said what had been reported to me, and then informed me that such and such men were to be found in certain villages in the Boodehal taluk. The information being considered very important, my head magistrate Munshi, requested that he might be sent with a party of police. As he was an intelligent, experienced official, I granted his request, and the party started without delay.

It is unnecessary to enter into details; but I may mention, that before the following evening forty-three Koramers, with a large quantity of the property stolen from Ashtagram were seized; only five of the original gang were missing. Some of them had died, and others were imprisoned in the Madras Presidency. It appeared that the forty-eight men who escaped six years before, when their leader was captured, had wandered through several districts in the Madras Presidency, and only a short time before returned to the Mysore territory.

I put the whole gang on trial, with Hanamuntoo as approver, and having convicted them of various robberies in my own division, forwarded the forty-three recently captured to Major Montgomery, who tried and convicted them of the last offence.

A free pardon was granted to the leader; but as he was originally a native of Chittoor in the Madras Presidency, I forwarded him under a guard to the frontier, and warned him never to return to the Mysore territory; a warning which was hardly necessary, as he would have found his position rather too hot for him.

I would conclude this narrative by explaining the unusual and remarkable conduct of Hanamuntoo in turning traitor. It was a rule amongst the Koramers that in event of any of their number being imprisoned, those still at large were to give a share of the plunder to the female relatives of those incarcerated. Hanamuntoo had three wives and a sister, who ought to have been thus provided for, but who never received any assistance

from the members of the gang, and he resolved to revenge this neglect.

The following incident may throw some light on the habits of the Coarchers. A party of this class had committed several robberies in the Coongul taluk, and information was obtained that they belonged to a large gang, who had their encampment in a jungle eighteen miles from Coongul, within the Bangalore Division.

A Coarcher boy, eleven years of age, happened to be in the town of Coongul, when the information was obtained, and conveyed the intelligence to his gang by travelling alone all night.

Some of the robbers were thus enabled to make their escape, but a number, including the boy, were arrested, convicted, and sentenced.

The boy was placed in a public workshop and taught carpentry; he was also sent to school daily under charge of a policeman. Observing that the lad was not thriving, I asked him if he was not well fed, and if he did not enjoy his present position and advantages, which would be of great benefit to him hereafter; he admitted that he was treated with great kindness, but throwing up his arms, exclaimed, "I am like a bird in the cage, if I had only a handful of rice, and was permitted to rove about in my native jungle like the wild animals, I would be happy as the day is long."

I might fill a volume with similar experiences, but much more would weary my readers. I will therefore only narrate one other case, which differs in some respects from those described.

One morning, when on my march from one taluk to another, a gowda, or head of a village, met me, and reported that two nights previously his house had been plundered by a gang of Lumbanes, whom the village watchman had followed in the dark till they reached their camp in a jungle twelve miles off in the taluk of Mudduck-Serah, in the Bellary District (Madras Presidency). He was now prepared to guide the police to the encampment. The Sepoys on duty in my camp, together with all the police available, were forthwith despatched without taking their morning meal. They took the Lumbanes quite by surprise, and captured the whole gang with all the stolen property. The robbers on being brought to my tent in the evening made a full confession, indeed denial was out of the question; but the rascals, with the hope of lessening their criminality, declared that the gowda's brother had instigated them to perpetrate the robbery, an accusation which was easily proved to be untrue.

I would only add, that I had no authority to apprehend criminals in a Regulation District without a regular warrant, and some magistrates would have taken exception to my summary procedure, but both the principal and sub-magistrates of the Bellary District were above technical etiquette, and were but too glad to have their district freed from a troublesome gang; the more so, because they knew that justice in Mysore was prompt and effectual.

CHAPTER V.

THUGS.

WHILE it is unnecessary to give any general description of the class of robbers called Thugs, a brief account of my own dealings with them may not be unacceptable.

In 1834-'35, and for several years previously, a thrill of horror was felt throughout India by the discovery of a widespread system of murder with robbery, carried on by a class, which it was supposed had been exterminated in the beginning of the century. Mysore was, however, considered free from these people; and a report by Mr. Popham, on a murder supposed to have been committed by Thugs in the beginning of 1835, was ridiculed at head-quarters when I was an assistant.

Shortly after I assumed charge of the Chittledroog Division, Mr. Popham's suspicions were confirmed. One morning I came across three dead bodies, partially covered, in the sandy bed of a river. These had evidently been buried there, but had been exposed by a flood caused by heavy rain. The marks of strangling, without other injury, left no doubt of the way in which the victims had been put to death.

The almost daily report of the disappearance of travellers, most absurdly attributed to the ravages of tigers,

strengthened my convictions that the country was infested by Thugs. I could not, however, hear of any circumstance leading to the conclusion that any of this class resided in the Division.

The British officials in the province of Mysore were at this time put on the alert, by receiving a copy of a report, furnished by the head of the Thuggee Department in Bengal, which contained full details of the habits of Thugs, and a description of their general manners and appearance. This report also contained a description of a celebrated Jemadar, or leader, in the South of India, called Oosman Khan, for whose apprehension the Supreme Government had offered a large reward. I was stirred up by this report to issue a circular to the heads of police, conveying stringent instructions not to release, without my orders, any prisoner who might be suspected of being a Thug.

Shortly after, I received a report from the Amildar of Heerioor, fifty-six miles off, of his having arrested a number of persons, on the representation of a silledar (trooper of the irregular horse), whom he suspected of being Thugs; but that after a full inquiry, with the assistance of a punchayet, he was satisfied that they were respectable Mahommedan travellers who had incidentally met in that neighbourhood, but with reference to the instructions from the Division office, he had kept them under restraint.

On the proceedings of the inquiry being read to me, I was confident they were Thugs, and sent off an express

directing the Amildar to forward the men to my court under a strong escort of police and cavalry, and threatening him with dismissal if any escaped. On their arrival at Toomkoor, I applied the test suggested by Colonel Sleeman. I abused the prisoners in rough language, they little suspecting that by their smiles and gentle replies, so contrary to the usual spirit of true Mahommedans, they were furnishing unintentional evidence against themselves.

After a thorough examination, I was satisfied that the prisoners, eleven in number, were Thugs, and that one of them was the notorious Jemadar above mentioned.

Having had the proceedings translated into English, I made a full report to the Chief Commissioner, who fully concurred in my conclusions, and forwarded my report to Captain Malcolm, the Thuggee Magistrate at Hyderabad. Captain Malcolm replied he had no doubt of the correctness of our conclusions, on which the prisoners were forwarded, under a strong guard, to Hyderabad, and were there convicted, through the Thug approvers, of several murders. Some of them were sentenced to capital punishment, but Oosman Khan was admitted as an approver, and as such was eminently useful in the South of India.

But in connection with my examination of this party of Thugs, I would mention that my magistrate Munshi, who was unacquainted with the English language, and could not read Sleeman's report, thought that I was demented, when I ordered such respectable-looking tra-

vellers to be confined in irons. Subsequent to the apprehension of this party, who were passing through the country, and not connected with any of the people of Mysore, a colony of Thugs was detected at Baugapilly, in the Bangalore Division, on the frontier of the Bellary district, and some resident Thugs were also discovered in the Nuggur Division of Mysore.

Sometime after this, Captain Elwall was appointed Thuggee magistrate in Mysore, and, as in other parts of India, this dreadful system of crime was stamped out.

It may not be uninteresting to mention that, in 1853, I visited the large jail in Moulmein, British Burmah, in which 1,300 convicts, transported from all parts of India, were then confined. I inquired if there were any from the Mysore territory. The jailor replied in the affirmative, and pointed out a number of men as such. Speaking in the Canarese language, I asked them to tell me on what account they were there. They declared they had committed no offence, and were unjustly punished. I then inquired the name of the magistrate who had committed them; they replied, Capt. Elwall—the other prisoners round then laughed outright when I rejoined, "Oh, then, you are Thugs," they, having by their reply, revealed the fact that such was the case.

CHAPTER VI.

Wild Beasts.—Adventure of two young Officers with a Bear.—Destruction of Antelope by a Storm.—Snakes.

THE principal wild beasts in the Chittledroog Division were tigers, leopards, and panthers (the two latter being, locally, always designated as cheetahs), bears, deer, and antelope of several kinds, and the wild boar.

The destruction of life by the three first named, both of human beings and cattle, was very great.

Before explaining the several modes adopted for their extermination, I would mention a few incidents to show how fearless these animals had become.

A short time after I arrived in Toomkoor, a royal tiger carried off a calf over the wall of an enclosed yard adjoining an inhabited house. A cheetah also entered a house near Chelloor, seventeen miles distant, in which, Irish-like, the cattle and owners lived under the same roof. At the time there was only a woman within, who had the presence of mind to dodge round the cows, and on going out, to shut the door. She then gave the alarm to her neighbours, when a man who had a gun ascended the flat mud roof, through which he dug a hole, and shot the animal. In this case, I divided the usual Government reward between the man and the woman.

While residing on the Daveroydroog Hill, a report was brought to me that a shepherd had been attacked by a cheetah. It appeared that the animal attacked his sheep, when he had the hardihood to strike it with a stick, on which, as might have been expected, he was himself attacked, and his thigh bone broken. I sent him off at once to the apothecary in Toomkoor, but nothing could be done for the poor man, who died the next morning.

One morning, about eight o'clock, immediately after reaching my tent, one of my mounted escort rode up, showing me the shoulder of his horse terribly lacerated. A cheetah had sprung out of the bushes on the side of the path by which I had a few minutes before ridden to my camp. The Sowar boasted of his bravery, having, he said, beaten off the cheetah with his sword. This bravery was, however, assumed, for he died of fright while the horse recovered. Other cases of death from fright were, from time to time, brought to my notice.

Native sportsmen shot tigers and cheetahs in two ways. One was by remaining all night on a tree above a bullock or cow, which had been previously killed, and firing on the animal when he returned to feast on his prey. The other was to make a small hut or den, of wood, the entrance to which was closed by his companions; a sheep or kid was then tied close to a hole at the other end, through which the hunter fired when the animal seized the bait.

Cheetahs were also caught in large cages; there appeared, however, for some time, very little diminution

in the numbers of the beasts of prey; and I was glad to get from one of my Amildars, called Lingah Gowdah, the plan of a pit which, in former days, had been used with success. This pit was twelve feet long, twelve feet deep, and two and a-half wide, closed in with brush wood on both sides and one end; wooden spikes were fixed at the bottom, and the top of the pit was covered over with light brush wood. A sheep or goat was then tied inside at the closed end, where there was space left for it to stand on. Tigers usually spring on their prey from some distance, which habit ensured these animals falling through the light brush wood.

In a short time forty-eight royal tigers were in this way destroyed, four of which were on one morning brought to me. Mr. Stokes, the Superintendent of the Nuggur Division, obtained from me the plan of these pits, and in an equally short time caught upwards of seventy. Now comes a singular circumstance, which I vouch for, though I cannot explain. In a short time the success in both divisions terminated, and never once did a tiger again fall into these pits, though numbers continued to infest the country. The difficulty is to understand how the young in successive years learned to avoid the pits made for their capture.

In connection with this subject, I will give the history of an unusually large tiger-skin now hanging up in my hall. One Sunday, while holding public worship in my court-house, the congregation were disturbed by a tremendous uproar of voices, tom-toms, &c. A large royal

tiger had been shot during Saturday night, about four miles from my house, and in the morning the villagers, attracted from all sides, in their excitement quite forgot the day was Sunday, and supposing I was holding court, brought the animal to my cutcherry. Perfect silence, however, followed, on the crowd being reminded that the day was Sunday. After the service we looked at the huge beast, which was then taken away and the skin brought back, which, after being properly tanned, I presented to a relative in Scotland. After the lapse of many years, this skin again came into my possession, and now adorns my house.

It has often been remarked that the removal of one evil entails another; thus it was, the destruction of tigers and cheetahs, which to a great extent lived on wild pig, led to the multiplying of the latter, and resulted in the increased destruction of extensive sugar-cane plantations.

The flesh of these sugar-fed animals is peculiarly sweet, and superior to that of those not thus fattened; this, however, was little comfort to the cultivators, who were great losers.

The part of the country where the wild boar abounded was not suitable for *pig-sticking*, and too far removed from the head-quarters of the British officers, who delighted in that sport.

The bears of Mysore are harmless if not interfered with, but when wounded become very fierce, as is illustrated in the following interesting incident :—

While holding court in the old palace of Chittledroog, a villager brought a piece of paper, upon which was written, by a young officer, "Hughes has been wounded by a bear." A few days previously two young officers of a British regiment had spent the day with me in my camp, at some distance from Chittledroog. Having lately come from England, they were inexperienced in the habits of the country and ignorant of the language. So many reports had come to me of their daring, or rather reckless, conduct, that my old apothecary suggested the propriety of my sending them back to their regiment under an escort. Having proceeded twelve miles on the other side of Chittledroog, they fired at, and wounded a bear, which Hughes followed through the brushwood with a spear. Whilst on his knees creeping through a thicket, the bear (a female with cubs) rushed on him, and bit his thigh and arm severely. His companion, a young ensign, full of pluck, stuck his pocket-knife into the bear's eye, by which means the animal was forced to relinquish her hold of the prostrate young man. On receipt of this note, I immediately despatched my wife's palanquin and bearers, who brought the wounded officer to the palace. He was then in a very weak state, but by the assiduous and skilful attention of Mr. Xavier, the apothecary, he was in a few weeks sufficiently restored to be able to return to his regiment, stationed at Bellary. I may mention that the apothecary attributed his entire exemption from fever to the fact of his being a total abstainer.

The deer were the elk (*sambur*), and the spotted deer, and the common antelope.

The elk were found only amongst hills; there were a good many on the Daveroydroog hill when I built my cottage on its top. On one occasion three friends joined me in a special beat. We put up four elk, one a splendid stag, which the beaters marked down, and being intimately acquainted with the different tracks, they placed us at a point to which they promised to drive the game. We heard him coming towards us with the tread of a war-horse, and became excited to such a degree that when he passed us, at a distance of four or five yards, we all fired at random, and the stag escaped unscathed. Some of our friends on other occasions were more successful; and I endeavoured to preserve the game for the benefit of European visitors, but with only partial success.

I had for my own convenience opened out these hills, which led in a short time to the destruction in great measure of all wild animals, except tigers, which are migratory, and constantly came from different ranges to the superior cover in the vicinity of Daveroydroog.

The spotted deer were never numerous, but their flesh was more sought after than that of the antelope. The latter abounded everywhere, spread over the country in large herds. I have often, on rising in the morning, seen a herd within gunshot of my tent. I knew of one officer from Bangalore bagging more than 200 head within a few days, and the flesh of an entire animal was usually

sold in the Toomkoor market for four annas, or sixpence.

The Ryots complained loudly of the destruction of their crops, especially in the Herioor, Dodairy, and Chittledroog taluks. At first it was easy to get within gunshot of a herd; but the constant and increasing pursuit by sportsmen, European and native, made them very wary. They continued, however, very numerous till the 5th and 6th of May, 1850, when, especially during the night, a storm raged, accompanied by very heavy rain. The antelope fled for shelter into inhabited houses, and were so paralysed that they were easily caught in the fields. It was computed that nine-tenths of these graceful animals perished, and according to the Amildar's returns, 100,000 cattle and sheep died from the effects of that storm. None under cover were fatally affected, but, as in the case of my own cows, the cattle generally suffered from a description of ague. Great multitudes of birds were killed on the same occasion, and were found strewed throughout the country.

This storm did not affect human beings, who were of course seldom exposed at night. Though my duties did not afford me leisure to indulge in field sports, sportsmen were always welcome to my hospitality in house or camp, and were assisted to procure beaters and supplies. Several young officers occasionally came at the same time, but whether one or more, all cheerfully complied with the only restriction I imposed on them—that was to refrain from sport on Sunday.

I never required any guest to attend family worship, but few, if any, ever absented themselves. I did not, however, weary my visitors with long prayers and tedious expositions, but made a few pithy remarks on the portion of Scripture read. In the course of years I was enabled in this way to say a word in season to very many, old and young. Amongst the sportsmen who came to me was Sir Walter Scott, son of the novelist.

I had not intended to enlarge further on wild beasts; but perhaps the subject would not be complete without a brief notice of the snakes, which were very numerous. Though many natives died from snake-bite, I seldom received complaints on this subject; and during my sojourn in the country, no reward was given by the Mysore Government for the destruction of these reptiles, except within the limits of the Municipality of Bangalore. The cobra was the only species, the bite of which was considered fatal by the natives, whose liability to be bitten is owing, almost, if not entirely, to their habit of sleeping on the bare ground, and often under trees. I never knew of any European being bitten by a cobra. All Indian snakes make their escape from man when it is possible, and I never heard of an instance in which one was the assailant. I can speak from personal observation of cobras being attracted by snake-charmers, apparently through the power of music. The hedge round my house, which was many years before planted by the Native Government, was full of cobras. I employed a convict, a professional snake-catcher, to destroy them,

who attracted and killed upwards of one hundred; he could skilfully seize them by the back of the neck, and with a stone strike out the poison fangs, when the reptile was perfectly harmless.

I remember finding a cobra in a traveller's bungalow in a torpid state, his body being distended by swallowing an animal of some kind.

I have heard of enormous snakes being found in the jungles, which could kill large animals by twisting their bodies round their victims, but never came across one of this species.

CHAPTER VII.

Polligars.—Attempted Rebellion.—Visit to Hurryhur and its Results.—Wandering Band of Irānees.

I WILL now give a brief account of an attempted rebellion by the Chittledroog Polligars, and its bloodless suppression.

The Polligars were chiefs of the Bader caste, governing large tracts of country; they acknowledged the supremacy of the Mysore State, but carried on constant warfare with its sovereigns and each other.

Hyder Ali had exterminated the chiefs who ruled in Chittledroog and the adjoining districts, and their families were left destitute, and dependent for a precarious

miserable subsistence on their hereditary followers. On the restoration of the Rajah, the Mysore State, under the influence of the British Resident, pensioned the heads of these families; but required them to reside at the seat of Government, and to abstain from visiting their Polliums of villages without special permission.

On the administration of Mysore being undertaken by us in 1831, the chiefs were removed from the City of Mysore to Bangalore, where they constantly annoyed the Chief Commissioner by their discontented and seditious utterances.

In 1849 these Polligars, seven in number, planned a rebellion, and had proclamations prepared, calling on all classes to throw off the British yoke. They appealed especially to the military classes, who were reminded that their occupation was gone; but that now, under the charmed ancient name and reputation of the Polligars, they might have opportunities of returning to their ancient system of plunder. These would-be rebels, accompanied by some fifty recruits, escaped from Bangalore, and proceeded to the town of Dodairy, twenty-five miles from Chittledroog, where they scattered their proclamations, and at night assembled some thousands of their hereditary followers. An express reached me next day reporting their proceedings. I subsequently learned that before daylight all, except their hired servants, had returned to their villages, and that the Polligars marched towards Chittledroog. On receiving the first report, I sent off expresses to the Chief Com-

missioner, the Superintendents of Ashtagram, and Nuggur, and to the Magistrate of the Bellary district, communicating the fact of the rising.

I also sent an express to the officer commanding the regiment at Hurryhur, and requested him to send two companies of Sepoys to Chittledroog. This course I considered necessary, because the rebels, probably, would endeavour to occupy that fortified position. They, however, being pressed by the Chittledroog police, crossed the frontier into the Nuggar Division. On Sunday morning my magistrate munshi came early to report that no intelligence had arrived during the night, and to apply for orders. I replied I had none to give; but shortly after he left me, and while I was praying to God for guidance, the conviction flashed across my mind that the rebels would be met by the Nuggur police, that they would recross the border, and take up a position on certain hills a few miles from Holalkerry (one hundred miles from Toomkoor, where I was). So strong was my conviction, that I at once sent for the munshi and sent an express to the native officer commanding the irregular cavalry stationed in the Chittledroog fort, directing him to proceed without delay to the hills indicated, where he probably would find the Polligars. The express reached this officer late at night; he lost no time, and accompanied by Lieut. Harkness, a young officer attached to the companies which had come from Hurryhur, started before daylight.

On this occasion a circumstance occurred which showed

the reliance placed by the natives on a British officer. The officer in command of the cavalry, a fine spirited Mussulman, placed himself and his regiment under the orders of the young volunteer.

After a march of twenty-five miles, they reached Holalkerry about noon the following day, and were there informed by two detectives that the rebels had taken up a position on the hills referred to. The native officer proposed that men and horses should have a little rest, and get some refreshment before proceeding further. "No," replied young Harkness, "let us not delay one moment, the enemy will get word of our approach, and escape." They accordingly pressed on, and completely surprised the rebels. One half of the men dismounted, and led by Harkness, ascended the hill and captured all the Polligars and their followers, who made but feeble resistance. Thus, through the prompt measures taken, and the activity of the police, and the energy of this young officer, the rising was suppressed without a single village being plundered, or a drop of blood shed. I never for a moment had any apprehension of a rising amongst the people, but I dreaded the gathering of robbers and men of bad character, who might plunder the people in the name of the Polligars.

The sequel to this narrative will interest all who value religion above the most important affairs of this present world. Shortly after the circumstances narrated, official duty called me to Davenghery, a large town, eight miles distant from Hurryhur, where an old Hyderabad friend

commanded. I had not seen Col. Justice for many years, and was glad to have this oppurtunity to visit him.

Justice was now, like myself, a married man, and said you must spend Sunday with us. I replied I would be most happy, but expected to be the Chaplain for the day, and that, as he knew, while using the Church Service, I always preached extempore. He expressed his cordial acquiescence with my proposal, and accordingly I joined him on Saturday evening.

The next day, both at morning and evening service, all the Christian community, with the exception of two sick officers, assembled in the mess-house, among them was Lieut. Harkness, who had never once since his arrival in India, seven years previously, attended any place of worship. I preached in the morning on the text: "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," and God's Spirit brought home conviction to the heart of the above-mentioned officer, who yielded himself to Christ, and having lived a consistent Christian life for thirty years, died as a Major-General two years ago.

Another officer, named Palmer, was deeply impressed, and was subsequently led to a full reception of salvation through Christ by the instrumentality of a Capt. Colbeck. This officer (Palmer) died early in life, and as I was assured, in perfect peace.

The narrative of the Polligar insurrection reminds me of an extraordinary mode of plunder adopted by a party of Irānees, or low Persians.

A body of two hundred of these people, inclusive of women and children, obtained, on some false pretext, passports from the frontier magistrates in the north west, on the strength of which they travelled unchallenged through the Bombay Presidency.

As they approached the Mysore frontier, information was given me by native travellers from Darwar, who passed them on the road, that these Irānees subsisted, as they marched slowly onward, by plundering the villages along their route.

On receiving this information, I sent instructions to the police of the border taluks of my Division to watch the proceedings of the gang, and if there was any plundering attempted, to at once send the whole party to my head-quarters under a strong escort of irregular cavalry.

A party of cavalry was ordered to be in readiness for this service, and supplied with funds for the purchase of food, so that there might be no excuse for entering a village.

The correctness of the reports regarding the Irānees was confirmed on their entering the Chittledroog Division, for the police soon ascertained that some of the women, including an old hag who pretended to be blind, begged for food, and the men standing by showed, by unmistakable language and gestures that the people had better give freely.

In pursuance of my instructions, these marauders were sent to Toomkoor, and on their arrival I personally examined them, and never before met with such a dirty set, or such frightfully ugly women.

I found large quantities of Hindoo ornaments in their possession, which was conclusive proof that they had not confined themselves to taking food.

Some of my brother Commissioners, and at first the Chief Commissioner himself, thought I had exceeded my authority in ignoring the passports of the magistrates of Her Majesty's Government; but I never shrank from breaking red tape rules when convinced of the necessity for so doing, and I may mention, for the encouragement of official men, that I was never reproved for thus acting on my own responsibility.

The Chief Commissioner, on ascertaining all the circumstances, was satisfied that I had acted rightly, and sanctioned the expense incurred. The prisoners, as they were now considered, were sent on to Bangalore, and from thence to Madras, causing no little alarm as they proceeded, though accompanied by a strong guard. From Madras they were sent back to their own country. The Governor-General marked his approval of my proceedings, by issuing stringent orders that passports should never be given to parties of foreigners coming into British territory, and that such parties should not be allowed to cross the frontier without giving satisfactory assurance that the purpose of their journey was unobjectionable.

CHAPTER VIII.

Public Works.—Roads.—Irrigation.—The Maury Canvai Reservoir.

THE next branch of the Administration, in the order I have proposed in my Introduction, was that of the Public Works.

Road-making was hardly begun in South India in 1835. Travelling from Hyderabad to Madras in 1831, I came across some portions of a road which had no drains; and in the following year I marched over a half-made road between Madras and Chingleput, which had been bridged, but through neglect, holes had been worn by the traffic through the crowns of the arches.

A very defective road existed between Madras and Bangalore, and one still more defective from Bangalore to the town of Mysore. With these exceptions, there were no roads in any part of the Mysore territory.

Works of irrigation had also been long neglected, many of which were entirely out of repair.

Next to the suppression of robberies, tanks and roads commanded my early attention. The Chief Commissioner was anxious for the repair of the tanks, but avowed he did not see much use in making roads in a country where there was no wheel conveyances. I was, however, most enthusiastic on the subject, being confi-

dent that roads would lead to the introduction of carts, and in my first year traced a trunk road from Toomkoor to Davengerry by Chittledroog, a distance of 127 miles. My success in capturing robbers enabled me to carry out my project. The Chief Commissioner having given the Superintendents permission to employ convicts in whatever way they considered most useful, I had no hesitation in deciding on road-making, confident that on financial grounds provision must be made for works of irrigation. I accordingly organised two gangs of convicts, and obtained sanction for an efficient establishment of police, and for the employment of a class of village labourers, called Kalihats* and Kāmaties. My estimates for tents and tools were also sanctioned, and I had small sums of money obtained by the collection of fines and other miscellaneous sources, which were not at that period carried to the general account. I was thus enabled to make considerable progress, not only in earth-work, but also in the construction of small stone drains and bridges.

After some years, I obtained sanction for the construction of bridges over the three largest rivers which crossed the above-mentioned line of road.

It so happened, that just as the largest of these (436 feet long) at Herioor was completed, the Chief Commissioner and his camp crossed over from the Nuggur Division, and came over the newly-made road, the

* Kalihats—a kind of enrolled unarmed Militia, utilised on Government Works, &c.

convenience of which called forth the admiration of all in camp. The native officer of his escort making use of this expression, "We have been accustomed to wander all night in the Nuggur Division, but can now march forward with our eyes shut." Sir Mark, then Col. Cubbon, on arriving at the Herioor bridge, accompanied by the Chief Engineer and myself, looked at it for some time, and then called out, " Green, begin the Muddur bridge at once." Capt. Green, the Chief Engineer, had repeatedly, but in vain, recommended the construction of a bridge over the broad river which crossed the Bangalore Mysore road near Muddur.

The Chief Commissioner having now, for the first time since his arrival in India, experienced the advantage of a good road, became very liberal, and never refused a single application from that time forward, nor did he even consider it necessary to send my estimates to the Engineer Department for examination. I also undertook the section of a road from Bangalore to Toomkoor, and from Davengerry to Hurryhur, and also a trunk road from Herioor to Bellary.

The more direct track from Toomkoor to Bellary formerly traversed, passed through a large section of the Bellary District, but I adopted the more circuitous route, because the principal collector failed to obtain sanction from the Madras Government for the portion within the boundary of his district.

Mr. Pelly, an officer as active as he was zealous, wrote to me with feelings of indignation and deep regret, be-

lieving that his district would be deprived of many obvious advantages by the traffic being thus diverted into another district, though of course he would rather a road were made through Mysore than not at all. He eventually obtained sanction for continuing the Mysore road for the ten miles which lay between the Chtitledroog frontier and the Bellary Station.

The benefits derived from these roads repaid me tenfold in the feeling that my labour had not been in vain. I may enumerate some of the most striking results. The year after the road to Bellary was completed, 1854, there was a famine in that district, which was intensified by the withering up of the grass in the neighbouring districts, owing to the failure of the usual rains, which caused great mortality among pack bullocks and asses, on which, at that time, the people were almost entirely dependent for the conveyance of grain and other supplies. It fortunately happened that the grain pits on the Toomkoor side of my division had three years' supply in them, and there was also an abundance of straw stacked.

On the existence of these supplies becoming generally known, carts (the manufacture of which had already made great progress) were attracted from all sides for the purchase of grain, which they were able to convey to Bellary, by also taking a supply of provender for consumption on the road. Hundreds of carts passed daily from Toomkoor and its neighbourhood to the famine-stricken district.

Another benefit was the substitution of coaches drawn

by bullocks, for palanquins and bearers. Personally I was a great gainer, for I had been obliged to keep up several sets of bearers, for my own use, and that of my family, when travelling about the division, which were now displaced by bullock-coach and carriage. I do not exaggerate in saying that in the course of years I was saved thousands of rupees.

Travellers were also enabled to traverse the roads cheaply and quickly, with relays of bullocks at short distances. The following incident will illustrate how individuals and classes are often injured, at least for a time, by improvements and reforms.

I was walking with two friends on a newly-made road, when a Lumbane woman stood before me, and with indignation said, "Sahib, you are ruining the country by your roads." On being asked in what way, she replied, "You know we poor people earn our livelihood by carrying firewood on our heads to the villages; people now send their carts for it, and we are ruined." Their occupation was not only diminished, but the pack system of traffic in a great measure superseded by carts, all, however, eventually to the advantage of the Lumbanes, who were compelled to settle down to regular labour of various kinds—a change in their habits which could not have been anticipated a few years previously.

The Herioor bridge, which, as already stated, had a length of 436 feet, had the crown of its centre arch 21½ feet above the bed of the river, and, with the help of convict labour, to form the approaches, was constructed for 10,000 rupees, and completed in fourteen months.

This work, being on the high road to the Bombay Presidency, has been repaid manifold, for the river was often impassable. I remember one instance, during the monsoon, when all traffic was interrupted for six weeks, with a break of one day, no boat being able to stem the strong current. Two circumstances conduced to the rapid and cheap erection of this bridge, the first one of any magnitude constructed in the Mysore Province, with exception of the old-fashioned structures at Seringapatam and the Cauvery Falls.

Having the entire patronage of my Division, I placed active revenue officials over the work, holding out the inducement of promotion if they gave me satisfaction; and though the distance from Toomkoor was fifty-six miles, I constantly visited the work, sometimes accomplishing the distance on horseback with relays of horses,

Some of my friends, who could not comprehend how such a work could be carried out so cheaply, insinuated that I must have, as in the Rajah's time, employed forced labour, but so far was this from being the case, that large hired gangs were brought from a distance, and the masons from Bangalore. The secret of success was high wages and strict supervision, coupled with the wages being punctually paid.

This bridge was twice completely submerged, owing to extraordinary floods, and on the first occasion was supposed to have been swept away, but the damage done was trifling. I have only to add, that during the twenty years I performed the duties of an amateur engineer, 600

miles of road and thirty-five public buildings were carried out. I had no assistants for several years; and as most of those subsequently appointed are still living, it would be invidious to single out any for special remark, except that it is due to Captain (now Colonel) Harvey to say that in constructing roads he rendered very valuable service.

The works of irrigation had been, as already stated, grossly neglected, which involved great loss both to government and the cultivators. This will be more particularly referred to in my chapter on revenue.

There were some 6,000 tanks (artificial reservoirs) in the Chittledroog Division, constructed by and repaired at public expense; and though considerable sums had been sanctioned by the Rajah for the maintenance of these works, large portions had been embezzled by the revenue officials.

The repair of these tanks caused me much more labour and responsibility than road making. I may illustrate this by the following case:—

I received information that the Amildar of Mulcalmooroo and others were reaping a harvest in repairing a large tank 125 miles from my head-quarters. Determined to take the accused by surprise, I started at once in my bullock coach, and by travelling all night and the next day, reached Mulcalmooroo the following evening, and without delay had the earthwork of the embankment measured, and the result compared with the accounts submitted. In one item an embezzlement of 1,000

rupees (£100) was detected. The usual practice was to dig the earth required from the bed of the tank, and the quantity excavated was ascertained by measuring the pits. Had there been a delay of three days this fraud could not have been proved, as within that period heavy rain fell which filled the tank.

Very few original works were constructed, as the repair of the existing ones was a strain on both our finances and exertions, and the following instance will show the difficulty of obtaining sanction for an original work.

The Vedavutty or Herioor River flows through a gorge in a range of hills ten miles from the town of Herioor. Observing that there were but few inhabitants in the basin above or to the west of the gorge, and having experience of the arid nature of the country, I projected, in 1853, a reservoir, sixty miles in circumference, to be formed by throwing an embankment across the gorge, the water of which was calculated would irrigate half a million of acres, partly in the Mysore and partly in the Bellary District.

I based my recommendation of this work not merely on the increase of revenue, but on the general benefit of this part of the country, which abounded in herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, which in the dry season had to be taken long distances for water.

The project was entertained by Sir Mark Cubbon with more than usual interest, and he directed the chief engineer to prepare plans and estimates. Colonel Green was equally in favour of the project, and having prepared the estimate commenced preliminary operations. My

friend Sir Arthur Cotton, at my request accompanied me to inspect the site, and considered it admirably suited for the formation of a large reservoir, at comparatively small cost.

The Supreme Government also highly approved of the project, and had revised plans and estimates prepared. The Madras Irrigation Company then applied for permission to construct the work, as one calculated to answer their purposes, and between this company, the Government of India, and the Chief Commissioner of Mysore, correspondence was carried on for years, and estimates and plans considered and reconsidered; but from one cause and another the project was never proceeded with.

During the last famine in Mysore, in 1877-78, the execution of the project was again advocated by Colonel Sankey, the energetic and talented Chief Engineer of the Province, and though entered in the list of relief works, I understand it is still in abeyance. The failure of this project (generally known as the Maury Canvai) was the greatest disappointment I ever had in public life.

CHAPTER IX.

Revenue Reforms.—The Ryotwar System.—Visit of Sir George Campbell.—Settlement of Boundary Disputes with Mr. Pelly. —Absurd Taxes.

I DO not purpose giving an account of the revenue systems in Mysore, which are fully detailed in the various official reports, but only a brief statement of those oppressions which came under my own notice, and of the great increase of revenue, together with the increased prosperity of the people, which resulted from their removal.

With the exception of the villages and lands attached to the Pagodas, Mosques and religious communities, and the Jagheers bestowed on distinguished or favoured individuals, the land in Mysore was *ryotwar;* that is, each cultivator held his land direct from Government. With the above-mentioned exceptions, there was no class corresponding to our landlords or middlemen of any kind.

The Rajah latterly, however, adopted a most objectionable system of indirectly farming out each taluk; the Amildars were required to raise a certain amount of revenue each year, which, considering that these officials exercised police and magisterial, as well as revenue authority, opened the way to terrible abuses.

It is needless to say that, with almost despotic power, the Amildars could carry on unlimited extortion. The Rajah, sometimes indeed, made a show of punishing them, but the mode of punishment brought no relief to the oppressed, but the reverse; this can be illustrated by the following instance:—A certain Amildar of high family was summoned to the Durbar, fined in the large sum of 20,000 rupees, publicly flogged, and sent back to his taluk, where, of course, he reimbursed himself in a way that involved still greater extortion.

On assuming charge of the Division, I found this man ruling over one of the most important taluks. Another man who was convicted of forgery, was sentenced to have his right hand cut off, but escaped through the influence of friends, after undergoing the mock ceremony of having his coat sleeve cut off; this man held a high position, and that in my own court.

The cultivation of valuable produce was all but prohibited by the exorbitant rent fixed on the land thus cultivated; for instance, there was in the town of Coongul a great demand for mulberry leaves to feed the silk worms kept by the Mahomedans. The total rent from this source had never exceeded 400 pagodas; by lowering the rent on the land in question, in two years the revenue rose to 2,000 pagodas.

Sugar-cane cultivation was kept down in like manner, but increased rapidly on the reduction of assessment. Most of the lands under tanks, and a portion of the dry land was cultivated on the buttaye or warum system,

that is, by a division of the crops between the cultivator and the Government. Through neglect and fraud this system entailed equal loss on Government and the cultivators. Many reforms were introduced, accompanied by strict supervision and severe punishment, to which all, high and low, were subjected; but all endeavours to check abuses were utterly unavailing as long as the fixed salaries of all officials were almost nominal and inadequate for their maintenance.

Under the native Government it was understood that public servants were to live at the expense of the people; but after some years' experience, I laid the whole case before the Chief Commrssioner, and urged the necessity of raising the scale of remuneration.

Sir Mark Cubbon kept my letter for twenty days in his private desk, and then wrote to me thus:—"My dear Dobbs, I return your letter; your arguments are unanswerable, but the language is too strong to allow of my sending it down stairs" (where the office establishment was located). On finding that an increase of salary was not to be obtained, it occurred to me that the evil might be remedied in another and more satisfactory way.

The number of officials in the Division was far more than was required; I therefore calculated how many could perform the work in each taluk or subdivision; and prepared statements in accordance with these calculations. I proposed the reduction of shaikdars (petty revenue officers with police powers) from 375 to 103,

and of police, revenue, and judicial officials, from 3,700 to 2,000; the pay of the whole establishments to be divided among those retained.

This was an anxious time to me; for while I had the most overwhelming conviction that these reforms were essential to the prosperity of my Division, I knew that every public servant in the Mysore province was opposed to me in this matter, and that the Chief Commissioner would not, indeed consistently could not, sanction such sweeping changes in one Division without extending them to the other three.

I consequently resolved to make another, personal, appeal, so as to avoid delay or interference with my proposed arrangements. Before going to Bangalore, I posted my horses, bullock-coach, and bearers at different points in my Division. After much prayer to God for guidance, I went to Sir Mark Cubbon, and pleaded with all the earnestness of which I was capable, that I had well considered the proposed reforms, and hoped he would verbally permit me to act on my own responsibility.

After several hours' conversation, I drew from him a reluctant consent, returned the same night to Toomkoor, and the next day started on my tour throughout the taluks.

To avoid the possibility of bribery, I did not take a single official with me, but simply provided myself with schedules in English and Canarese. I may here mention that I did not carry a weapon of any kind on this occa-

sion, or on any other, throughout my whole service in Mysore.

Having summoned all the officials in each taluk successively, I adopted the following procedure in making reductions. The police were formed into line, when the Amildar and Killedar (chief executive officers) were publicly required to state whether there were any drunkards or other bad characters in the body; these were set aside, and the most active and intelligent of the remainder selected.

A similar procedure could not be followed in making a selection among the educated classes. The Amildar of course knew the character and abilities of the Shaikdars, but if his opinion was taken, the door for bribery was opened; I therefore, after dismissing all notoriously unfit, selected by *lot* those to be retained. A novel mode, but the only one that could meet the exigencies of the case. Some of the rejected Shaikdars petitioned the Chief Commissioner, urging "that since the world began, such a mode of appointing public servants was never heard of."

The new organization was completed in every taluk within a week, and I returned to Toomkoor before the 1st of May. On the 6th of that month I received a private letter from Sir Mark Cubbon, in these words: "I am informed from all sides that your proposed reforms will involve a great sacrifice of revenue, and cause a great increase of robbery; come in for further consultation."

I replied, "I stake my official reputation on the success of my reforms, which have been in operation since the 1st inst. I trust you will not allow a report to get abroad that you do not approve of them, for this would greatly weaken my hands."

Sir Mark, with his wonted generous spirit, replied, "Now that it is done, you shall have my cordial and unreserved support."

With sanguine expectations and renewed ardour, I now began the various changes which I considered necessary, but the carrying out of which was impossible as long as the public servants placed no value on the salaries they drew, and could only exist on the fruits of fraud and corruption.

I may here mention that, with official sanction, I had, prior to the reduction of the inferior servants, reduced the taluks from thirty-two to eighteen, with the corresponding reduction of taluk officials.

The chief advantages which resulted from the reduction of establishments were these: First—The elimination of a large number of superfluous hands, who had to obtain a livelihood in an illegal manner at the expense of the people; and secondly—The improved status of all the public servants, both as regards authority and remuneration. There was a further guarantee that those retained in office would be honest, in the fact that the dismissed officials would watch every action for the purpose of bringing charges against any who might be found tripping, in the hope that their own claims would

be considered when vacancies occurred. My expectations were fully realised by the almost entire cessation of complaints against the petty revenue officials and police, which had hitherto occupied fully half my time. The reforms in the revenue system which were first required, may be thus stated : First—A check upon the abstraction of the buttaye crops, and the granting to the cultivators the straw of these crops, which had hitherto been recklessly wasted, with serious loss to the cultivators, and but little benefit to Government.

Secondly.—The abolition of a plough tax, which had been imposed several centuries before, and which was considered peculiarly irksome.

The next object was to substitute a fixed assessment on the buttaye lands, which was carried on to some considerable extent before the appointment of a Survey Assessment Department.

The only other reform I carried out, exclusive of the abolition of several petty and absurd taxes, to be mentioned hereafter, was securing to the ryot the value of the improvement of his land. Under no circumstances was the land to be transferred to a higher bidder, if the holder wished to retain it, and he was permitted to dig a well or construct a tank without being liable to an increase of assessment.

Under the native Government the ryot was dependent on the village accountant for a verbal explanation of his liabilities, but now there was introduced what was called a *puttah*, or detailed statement of the land held by the

cultivator, and of his liabilities. The puttah was handed to each individual in the presence of the superintendent, and no change was permitted without his sanction.

Once in every three years all the puttahs in the division, aggregating about 150,000, were examined in the superintendent's office, and all changes entered, and then returned to the ryots by the superintendent in person.

Each year the superintendent settled with 50,000 cultivators; and this leads me to give an opinion on the ryotwar system, which is peculiar to the South of India.

There cannot, I conclude, be any difference of opinion as to the advisability, if possible, of not having middlemen between Government and their tenants. The objection to this system was the difficulty of always securing the services of able and conscientious native officers; but it is universally admitted that under the revenue officers of the Madras Civil Service the system has been admirably worked, and is eminently suited to the requirements of the country.

Twenty years ago Sir George Campbell paid me a visit, with the object of forming his opinion on the ryotwar system from personal observation and inquiry.

To afford him an opportunity of doing so, I pitched my tents a few miles from Toomkoor, and made the usual settlement of a number of villages in the presence of my distinguished visitor. Sir George had entertained strong objections to the system, which were probably modified by what he witnessed. Ryot after ryot came to me, and individually stated his case, the Mahomedans in

Hindustani and the Hindoos in the Canarese language. My decision was given to each in his own language, and then and there entered in the revenue accounts.

Sir George appeared much surprised by what he saw, and expressed himself in these words: "The people come to you as to a father, with perfect confidence. I never witnessed anything of the kind in the north-west, for the lower classes never came before me. I had to settle exclusively with the principals."

In India, as in all parts of the world, boundary disputes were fierce, and, if not satisfactorily adjusted, persistent. I may mention two instances.

There had been a dispute from the beginning of the century between a village in the Bellary District and one on the Chittledroog side; and three men were killed in a fight, which occurred a few years before the appointment of British officers in Mysore.

In 1839 Mr. Pelly, the Collector of Bellary, arranged with me to pitch our camps near the disputed border, and, if possible, effect a satisfactory settlement.

The morning after our arrival we walked together to the spot, and found the corpse of one of the head men of the village on the Chittledroog side lying across the contested boundary; he had been murdered by his own people for having given evidence favourable to the other side. As all the villagers were implicated, the actual murderers were never discovered; but the dread of discovery and punishment rendered a settlement easy.

In another taluk, which was almost surrounded by the

Bellary District, forty-eight boundary disputes had given rise to constant correspondence between the Resident at the Mysore Court, in behalf the Rajah and the Bellary revenue authorities, yet not one had been disposed of. Mr. Pelly again arranged with me to pitch our tents near the villages in question. We were both satisfied that in former years the taluk authorities, on both sides, had made the disputes a party question, and had taken bribes from the disputants. We brought together the Amildar of Paugud and the Thasildar of Mudduck-Serah, and informed them we were determined to remain in camp till all the disputes were finally settled.

All parties, official and non-official, observing the cordiality between the English gentlemen at the head of their respective districts, and having confidence in their impartiality, gave written agreements binding themselves to abide by our decisions. All the disputes were satisfactorily disposed of in a few days; and there was never afterwards any complaint in connection with this case or that first mentioned.

I will conclude this chapter by mentioning some of the absurd and objectionable taxes which were abolished.

Every *Baywarres* woman—that is, one not under the protection of some man—had to pay a poll tax of a gold fanam (7d.), which, though trifling in amount, caused great dissatisfaction, and gave me a great deal of annoyance, for I was almost daily importuned by some of these poor women to relieve them from the tax.

My principal native officials strongly objected to the remission of this and every other source of revenue, however trifling, asserting the principle that no tax once imposed ought ever, under any circumstances, to be relinquished. I was provoked to say in open Cutcherry, "You know that one rich farmer gives more in bribes to have his assessment reduced than the whole amount collected from these wretched women." Orders were of course issued for the abolition of the tax.

The pilgrims who offered vows in a temple near Coongul had to pay a tax of one fanam for permission to have their hair cut in the temple, and to the amount so realised was added the value of the hair sold by public auction.

In a temple on the Daveroydroog hill the pilgrims had to pay a tax for the privilege of worshipping, which was also carried to the credit of Government.

A monopoly of begging was rented to certain individuals in the Hossdroog taluk, and all others who asked for alms were fined.

Two hundred years ago, on one occasion, a Polligar when travelling could not obtain straw for his cattle, and in a rage ordered a fine to be imposed on the village; this fine was, ever after, levied as an annual tax.

Each village had to supply a certain number of fowls to Government (that is, to the Government officials). One day a village watchman rushed into my Cutcherry covered with blood, exclaiming that Syed Mahommed, one of my personal peons, had beaten him because he would not procure a fowl for him, he knowing that the

village had already furnished the regulated number. I was glad to have so good an opportunity of showing my disapproval of the practice, and sentenced the peon to six months' hard labour for the assault.

The villagers were bound to carry the baggage of all public servants without remuneration, and, before carts were procurable, I required, when marching about my Division, from 80 to 100 men to carry my own baggage and that of my servants. I could not trust any native servant to pay these men; and as I was often late in reaching camp, my wife, who always arrived in time, personally paid each coolie the proper hire. On this practice becoming known, the coolies employed by the native officials also demanded payment.

The Mahomedans of Seerah complained bitterly at having to pay a tax on water melons, cultivated during the dry season in the sandy bed of a river, especially as the crop was liable to be destroyed by early rains. Their petition was granted, contrary to the wish of the taluk officials, who endeavoured to impose it again the following year.

CHAPTER X.

Missionaries.—Rev. W. Arthur.—The Suppression of the Bible in Government Schools.—Incidents connected with the visits of Lord Congleton, Bishop Dealtry, Rev. S. Hebich, and others.

THERE was no Missionary Station in the Chittledroog Division in 1835; but shortly afterwards, the Wesleyan Mission sent a Missionary to Goobee (a town twelve miles from Toomkoor), where a permanent Mission Station was subsequently established, as also at Coongul and Toomkoor.

Mr. Hodson was the first Missionary sent to Goobee, and he and Mrs. Hodson occupied a large tent of mine while a thatched hut was being constructed.

Several amusing incidents occurred in connection with this beginning. The tent, which inside was thirty-two feet long by twenty wide, afforded ample and comfortable accommodation, having one side partitioned off. The possibility of a storm not having been taken into consideration, the tent pegs were not "*bushed*," or secured, and the consequence was the tent was levelled by the first squall of wind and rain, and the inmates buried under the thick heavy canvass. Mrs. Hodson was wont to humorously describe how she crept into her palanquin, which was between the khanats, or tent walls.

The hut was soon finished, and Mrs. Hodson, who

had the gift of order and exquisite taste, arranged the interior of this temporary structure so as to make it appear like a drawingroom. Everything looked nice and comfortable till a heavy fall of rain penetrated the roof, and obliged them to sleep at night under the protection of umbrellas! All this discomfort was looked upon as an amusing episode by the lively, bright-spirited little lady, who happily at at that time had no children to look after.

From the first the Missionaries, most of them young men, fully entered into my views on two points, which, in our intimate relations with each other, were desirable. The first was that there should never be any controversy on Calvinism or Arminianism, and the second that as an essential arrangement for the purity of the Mission, the Missionaries should ask no favours for the natives.

There never was the slightest departure from the first principle, and only one from the second. Mr. Hardy, an earnest, tender-hearted young man, pleaded hard to induce me to advance a year's salary to a subordinate revenue official, as he was *desperately in love* with a young girl, whom he was likely to lose by the departure of her father, unless he could at once meet the heavy marriage expenses. The young Missionary was highly amused when he learned that the young lady was only four or five years of age.

The clever Brahmins soon understood Mr. Hardy's kindly, amiable disposition, and one day some of those in Cuddub got round him, and persuaded him to ask me for several favours. Only one was granted, and Mr. Hardy

told me that when he next visited Cuddub the Brahmins were most insulting in their bearing towards him.

One of the early missionaries appointed to Goobee was Mr. Arthur, of whose talents and missionary zeal I need not speak, for he has since obtained a world-wide reputation. I may, however, mention that the Brahmins told me that he made more progress in six months in acquiring a knowledge of the Canarese language, than any other European known to them had done in six years. He, alas! fell into the mistake, common to ardent students, of studying too hard, and this resulted in his having to leave India after a brief sojourn there.

This was, however, overruled by our loving and wise Father in Heaven, for furthering the Mission cause, through his eloquent appeals at home, and by affording a wider sphere for one so gifted. It is always encouraging to watch the over-ruling providence of God, who maketh all things work together for our good and the furtherance of His truth.

My missionary friends occasionally conducted public worship in my drawing-room and court-house, but most properly kept themselves generally to their missionary work. I need hardly say that they were often my guests, not only in passing to and from Bangalore, but also when their own health, or that of their wives, required a change. Thus it happened that the author of "Ginx's Baby" was born in my house.

I never gave a public address in the vernacular, except once, and that was at the opening of the Mission-

School in the town of Goobee. I would not, even if I had believed myself qualified, consider it advisable for a public officer in my position to preach to the heathen in his own District.

This had been attempted in some instances with lamentable results. Mr. Dacre, a judge in Chittoor, gathered round him a thousand professed converts, and got out a Missionary from England to take charge of the congregation, whose heart was broken by the corrupt state in which he found it. On Mr. Dacre's death, only one individual continued steadfast.

I proved my attachment to the Mission cause, not only by brotherly intimacy with the Missionaries, but also by presiding at school examinations and missionary meetings, and I was not debarred from conversing with intelligent natives on religious subjects.

It may, however, be considered remarkable, that during my long residence in Mysore, not a single Hindu professed to be influenced by me—much less ever made any profession of conversion to Christianity. All were convinced that in dispensing my patronage I was impartial, and that no secular advantage was to be gained by making a profession.

There was one remarkable result of the missionary preaching in Goobee and adjoining villages. A Brahmin of good family seemed to be convinced of the truths of Christianity, though not prepared to relinquish his caste; he erected a school at his own expense, hired a master to instruct the boys in secular knowledge, and he himself taught the Bible.

After the lapse of some years this Brahmin requested Mr. Hodson to baptize him, but that experienced Missionary, after several examinations, saw clearly that the Brahmin's convictions were exclusively intellectual, and that he had no spiritual knowledge or apprehension of the truth; he consequently declined to accede to his request.

The course adopted on this occasion, which was that pursued by the Missionaries of all the Protestant Societies, is in striking contrast with the system followed by the Roman Catholic priests. The latter were wont to baptize all candidates without evidence of true conversion.

The Chief Commissioner sanctioned public schools at the head-quarter stations of all the Divisions, and placed them under the general superintendence of the Missionaries. For fifteen years, high caste youths, including Brahmins, and boys of low caste, sat together in the school-house, studying the Bible, and learning Christian hymns, without the parents once making any objection. The annual examination was held in the court-house, on which occasion texts of Scripture and hymns were repeated by heathen boys.

All this was wantonly put a stop to by the supreme Government in 1855, when the secular system of education was enforced. This uncalled-for suppression of Bible instruction disgusted myself and others; and I must confess I could not henceforward take much interest in the Government schools.

The Wesleyan Mission subsequently established schools throughout the country, which were highly prized by natives of all castes, and their institution in Bangalore was largely supported by a Government grant in aid.

The following incidents connected with some of my visitors, may prove interesting :—

In 1836, John Parnell, now Lord Congleton, paid a visit to Mysore after his return from Baghdad, where he had long laboured in mission work, with Mr. Groves and others.

When on a visit to my friend Captain Chalmers, that officer suggested he was sure Dobbs, who was at that time alone in an out-of-the-way part of the country, would be cheered and rejoiced by a visit from a brother in Christ, long known to him by name and character through their mutual friend, Mr. Groves. Some of my readers may, in these cold days, be surprised to hear of the self-denying Christian love which influenced a stranger to undertake a journey of more than one hundred miles, and that in a palanquin carried by untrained coolies, there being no bearers procurable in the district through which he travelled—a journey undertaken for the sole purpose of giving pleasure to one whom he loved for Christ's sake. My noble friend is still living; but being in simplicity of character and habits the same John Parnell, will not object to my saying that I never spent a happier or more profitable time than I did in his company for a week. It is worthy of remark that, though Mr. Parnell held ecclesiastical views differing from my own, not one word

on such secondary subjects was ever broached by either of us.

On the morning after the arrival of my visitor, we were wandering among some lovely hills in the neighbourhood of my camp, when I proposed that, surrounded as we were by the enchantments of God's creation, we should unite in prayer and praise ; his reply was characteristic : "Such spontaneous informal union in prayer is what my heart always responds to." On many other occasions I have had a similar response from friends walking with me in retired spots.

Regular worship is generally necessary and always desirable, but why should not the spiritual worshippers of God, out of the abundance of their hearts, thus unite, when they can do so, without being liable to interruption. Though I have not the gift of song, a deep privation to myself, I always enjoyed the singing of hymns by my guests when sitting with them on a selected spot on the top of the Daveroydroog hill, while watching the glories of an eastern sunset, with all the rapid changes of colour and shade, which only those who have witnessed can fully appreciate.

I had the privilege of two visits from Bishop Dealtry, which my family and I considered a great treat. The first was an arranged one, when Mrs. Dealtry and the domestic chaplain, the Rev. Vivian Bull, accompanied him.

The Bishop's views accorded with my own. His warm, lively disposition added a charm to his profitable

conversation, and his exposition of God's Word was highly prized by us. The chapter was always read by his chaplain, and commented on by himself without looking at the book. His textuary memory and power of repeating from his stores of prose and poetry were remarkable; but even then, though his intellectual powers were fresh and vigorous, he greatly failed in remembering passing events. So defective was he in this respect, that he could not trust to his remembering the verbal orders to his chaplains, which were consequently written down by them.

Bishop Dealtry was esteemed the most eloquent and instructive preacher in his own diocese, but he could never overcome several Yorkshire defects of pronunciation, which gave occasion to the wife of the General commanding Bangalore, who hated his out-and-out evangelical teaching, to designate him a Dissenter.

The Ritualistic chaplains, whose advent in India began about that time, were, he told me, a cause of constant anxiety and trouble.

Mr. Bull I subsequently met in Burmah, during the war, and we had many happy seasons of prayer together.

The Bishop's second visit was unexpected. We had ascended our sanatarium hill for the hot season, when late one evening visitors were announced. These were the Bishop and his chaplain, who were travelling, and expected to find us at Toomkoor, but on hearing of our being on Daveroydroog, walked up a distance of nine

miles, not dreading the tigers which infested the jungle through which they had to pass.

One of the charms of Indian life in former days, which we old Indians look back on with happy memories, was the freedom of intercourse which existed, not only between personal friends, but also between strangers.

Capt. Nolan, of Crimean celebrity, and several other officers, arrived late in the evening at our house in Toomkoor, wearied and hungry, having ridden eighty miles without food. All were strangers, but accepted our hospitality as frankly as we offered it.

Nolan, like myself, hailed from the Emerald Isle; and it may interest some of his friends to learn, that on two subsequent occasions, he listened with deep attention when I pressed home the Gospel, and on the last occasion, in his own house in Bangalore, thanked me for speaking to him.

How far this officer was eventually influenced by the truth I do not know; but we were always encouraged to speak a word in season by the promise that the word shall not return void. I rejoiced in this reflection when I learned that this brave officer had fallen on the field of battle.

General Sir John Aitcheson on several occasions stayed with me *en route* to visit the military station of Hurryhur, and I always enjoyed his company, he was so well informed on all subjects. Sir John was in some respects a peculiar man—though by no means reli-

gious, he exerted himself to influence others for good, as the following incident will illustrate :—

One evening when I was dining with him in Bangalore, he remarked that when he commanded a regiment he never allowed the Chaplain to interfere with the men. One of the guests suggested that he of course left the men to themselves. "No, by no means," he replied, "I supplied them with Bibles and good religious books, which I procured from the Bible and Tract Societies."

He professed to appreciate my own efforts to lead young men to Christ, and said to me, "Tell every commanding officer in Bangalore that it is my wish that leave should never be refused to any young officer desirous of visiting you."

One of the most remarkable men I ever knew was the Rev. Samuel Hebich, of the Basle Mission. An interesting memoir of this Missionary, published in Germany, where he died, was translated by my dear friend, General Halliday; but the record of a few facts known to myself may not be out of place. I met Mr Hebich in a public bungalow soon after his arrival in India, and from the first was much interested in him. He twice visited Toomkoor, but I was, to my regret, absent on the first occasion in 1839. He, however, in his usual faithful, though somewhat eccentric way, urged my assistant, Lieutenant Russell, to give his heart to the Lord Jesus. I heard afterwards that this young man was deeply impressed by the words spoken; but I cannot speak of

results, as he died of cholera before I returned to the Division.

On the second occasion, Mr. Hebich spent some days with us labouring among all classes. I had heard that he could not brook opposition; but we found that when spoken to in a loving spirit, he was most gentle and considerate. The following incident will illustrate this:—

Mrs. Dobbs, at the time not being strong, requested him not to give a long sermon on Sunday evening. Being engrossed with his subject he forgot the request, when my wife, after he had preached for three quarters of an hour, got up, and touched him on the shoulder. He smiled, and concluded immediately.

In the memoir, mention is made of the wonderful influence he had among the officers, men and followers of the 39th Regiment, N.I. Eight or nine officers were converted through his instrumentality, and the regiment was long known as "Hebich's own."

The memoir refers to an interesting fact connected with this work at the French Rocks. Mr. Hebich, owing in a great measure to his imperfect knowledge of English, used hard terms when he disapproved, and this gave offence. Our excellent Bishop Dealtry, having heard of some severe censures on the Episcopal Church, received him discourteously when he called. Shortly after, duty called the Bishop to the French Rocks, when he was filled with astonishment and delight in witnessing the spiritual state of the regiment, the fruit of Mr. Hebich's labours; and said afterwards, "Mr. Hebich is not

the sort of man I had supposed; and I will avail myself of the first opportunity to make his acquaintance."

One of Hebich's peculiarities was to use the words "liar" and "lie," when speaking of erroneous teaching. Friends endeavoured to impress on him that these terms were peculiarly offensive to Englishmen. He, however, to the last continued to call everything by what he considered the right name.

On two occasions he endangered his life when speaking to Mahomedans by calling their prophet a liar.

Notwithstanding his plain and pointed language, he was generally well received, allowance being made for his strong language on the score of his being a foreigner.

In 1838, we had quite a gala scene in our quiet country home, on the occasion of the 32nd N.I. marching from Bangalore to Hurryhur. We invited the commanding officer and adjutant, with whom we were acquainted, and also all the officers, to partake of our hospitality. The house we then occupied being small, we pitched our large tents round it for the accommodation of the married officers and their families, while the bachelors remained in their own tents.

We greatly enjoyed having twenty-two adults and twenty children for a couple of days, while the regiment halted at Toomkoor.

We had occasional visits from the Bangalore chaplains. One of these, Mr. Trevor, came to Toomkoor to perform a marriage ceremony in my house, and to baptize a child. Though I had authority to perform these offices,

we all preferred having a clergyman when one could be procured.

Mr. Trevor was a very genial, agreeable companion, and other friends also came from Bangalore for the occasion. The next day we took all our guests to Daveroydroog, where we spent an enjoyable day, though I sprained both ankles in running a race down hill with the chaplain.

Mr. Trevor, sometime after, was, in my opinion, too much influenced by the Tracts for the Times, and I rashly entered into a paper controversy with him. I say rashly, for I could not, however much in the right, wield the weapons of argument with such a practised and eloquent controversialist.

Though we certainly used strong language, we had no personal quarrel; and he afterwards told me, that having been annoyed at the time, he spoke to the Chief Commissioner about the young officer not respecting his ministerial office. The only satisfaction he got from Sir Mark was, to the effect, that "Dobbs was a hospitable fellow, who would give him a good dinner and a hog hunt, but that he must leave all the preaching to Dobbs!" His referring the question to Sir Mark was remarkable, considering that this officer never entered his Church. I was taught a lesson from the unsatisfactory result of our correspondence, never to have any controversy with clergymen.

It may be considered a curious coincidence, that after Mr. Trevor and the Rev. Mr. Bowie, who officiated at

my marriage, had left India, their sons together visited us at Toomkoor. We found them most intelligent, interesting young men, and were subsequently glad to learn that both had entered the political branch of the service.

A clergyman, of the old High Church party, once visited me, with whom I had much conversation, without controversy, on the doctrinal views held respectively by the High Church and Evangelical Clergy.

He professed to hold all the doctrines held by Dr. Pusey, but was irate at the ritualism of a band of self-conceited young clergymen who, not following the footsteps of their seniors, were causing disgust and disturbance in the Church of England; he also frankly admitted that with my strong views of justification by faith, I could not conscientiously attend his preaching.

I would add, that with many of the Chaplains I had the most perfect agreement and much spiritual intercourse.

CHAPTER XI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Cholera.—Goorus—Providential escape from lightning—Anecdotes of native character—Roman Catholic Missions—Successful treatment by Homœopathy—Mr. S. and his infidel publications —The Garsoppa Falls.

I WILL now devote a chapter to various subjects which I could not conveniently weave into a narrative.

I will first speak of my experience in connection with cholera. The 9th Regt., N.I., in 1837-38, when marching from Cannanore to Bellary, was attacked by Cholera before entering the Chittledroog Division.

On Major Woodward reporting the two first cases to the colonel, the latter in alarm and anger, declared he would put any man under arrest who dared to say there was cholera in the camp. The Major said no more, but fearlessly did his best to arrest the progress of the disease, which, however, increased daily as they marched onward, till on their arrival in my Division; their deaths were from fifty to seventy each day.

On hearing that great difficulty was experienced in procuring supplies and coolies to carry the sick, I considered it my duty to proceed to the camp and afford all possible assistance. I accordingly sent out my tent and wrote to Lieut. Lawford, the only officer personally known to me, and invited him to bring all officers so disposed to

breakfast with me. Several accepted the invitation, amongst them a powerful young man, upwards of six feet high.

I observed this officer, Lieut. H., call Lawford aside, and speak to him in a low voice. The latter then informed me that H. wished to confess his awful wickedness in having for the last three years made a hypocritical profession of religion from worldly motives, and now, being afraid of death, hoped his torments in hell might be lessened by his confessing his sin.

We hoped after such a confession that he would truly repent, but though the fear of death brought torment, it brought no change of heart or life. On the cholera disappearing, Lieut. H. entered on a reckless career, which ended in his being obliged to leave the army. I never heard anything of his subsequent history.

Seventy deaths occurred on the first day I visited the camp; and as the difficulty of obtaining coolies and supplies continued, some days subsequently I paid the camp another visit at the next halting-place. My heart sickened in exercising my authority to force the poor ryots to carry the sick; but I could thank God that not one of those so employed caught infection; in fact the disease, in this instance, was confined to the regiment, and it is remarkable that not one of the seventeen English officers suffered.

Upwards of 700 natives perished.

In November, 1839, the Chief Commissioner made a tour of duty through the Province, accompanied

through each Division by the local officers and their establishments.

The Chief Commissioner visited Toomkoor early in November, and was joined by the Hon. Mr. Devereux, who at the time was officiating for me, and by the assistant, Lieut. Russell. The weather was lovely, and the country on all sides was reported healthy.

Dr. Smith, Surgeon to the Mysore Commission, subsequently mentioned that Russell constantly came to him and expressed his regards for the head-quarter officers, but observed that somehow or other he felt a strong desire for the separation of the camps.

At the fifth stage from Toomkoor, cholera broke out, and Russell was one of the first victims.

We ascertained afterwards that this poor young fellow, before leaving Bangalore, expressed his fears to his intimate friend, Mrs. M'Caulay, that he would die of cholera, if the Chief Commissioner's camp joined that of the Division. She laughed, and thought nothing more of his presentiment, till she heard of his death. I returned to my duty on the 24th of December, having during the previous night, when travelling in my palanquin, heard of my assistant's death.

I have now to relate a singular fact, one of those features connected with this disease, which is quite inexplicable.

The Chief Commissioner's Camp crossed the border into the Nugger Division, the morning of the day I reached the Division camp. There were on that day

twenty fresh cases in the former, and not one in the latter, while four men who were left sick recovered.

Several years after these events a native regiment marched through the Division in wings; one wing suffered severely from cholera, while the other had not a single case, nor was the disease communicated to any of the villages on the line of march.

It has been supposed that the fear of cholera was a premonitory symptom of the disease; but this is certainly not always so, as the following cases will show:—

Two ladies, friends of mine, were always agitated on hearing of cholera. One of these ladies was on a visit to us, when she overheard the servants speaking of the disease having broken out in the town about a mile distant. Our friend became cold, shivered, and thought she was attacked, but a large dose of camphor immediately revived her; we were, however, obliged to take her next morning to our hill sanatorium.

An intimate friend of mine, a zealous missionary, was so affected by the death of his companion in Madras, on their arrival from England, that he never, during a long residence in India, could hear the mere mention of cholera without being agitated; yet neither he nor the others I have mentioned ever suffered from the disease.

Two friends of mine proposed to go to Coongul, thirty miles distant from Deveroydroog hill, where we were then residing, and persisted in their resolve, notwithstanding my persuasion to the contrary, as cholera was raging in a village on their way. They declared

they had no fear, and started with the intention of sleeping at Toomkoor on their return. The effect, however, of seeing many dead bodies on the road, and of the piteous lamentations of survivors was so great, that they could not sleep, though both in the same room. They arose and came up the hill in the middle of the night, and the apothecary had to administer laudanum to soothe their nerves; neither were, however, seriously affected.

On one occasion, when on an official tour, my camp passed outside Toomkoor, while cholera was prevailing there. One of my servants unfortunately walked through the town, was taken ill on arrival in camp, and died. I attended him without any apprehension, my persuasion always having been that infection or contagion was not communicated by a patient, but was in the air. The circumstance already related, also shows that a moving body of men can carry the disease with them without communicating it to those they encounter on their journey.

GOOROOS.—The relation which exists between the Gooroos, or High Priests, in the South of India and their followers is singular; they are not loved, but feared. The Gooroos are pre-eminently proud; and though desirous of obtaining attention from British officers holding high positions, will not procure it by conforming to the recognised etiquette.

A short time before I assumed charge of the Chittledroog Division, the chief Gooroo, of the Lingayet Caste

throughout India, died at his monastery, three miles from the town of Chittledroog; when the resident monks commenced a system of bribery to obtain the support of Government servants in favor of the several candidates for the vacant post. A large bribe had even been offered to Mr. Popham, the Superintendent.

On my reporting the agitation that existed, to the Chief Commissioner, he issued a proclamation stating that after full inquiry he considered the ancient practice of election was the best, and should be adopted, and this was to elect a successor by the votes of the majority of the disciples who might assemble at the monastery on some fixed day.

Many persons came from a distance to take part in the election, amongst others a brother of the Rajah of Punganoor, near Chittoor, who kept open house for the entertainment of European gentlemen. The brother above mentioned came to my house at Toomkoor, dressed in the uniform of a British officer.

He requested me to allow one of my personal peons to accompany him to Chittledroog, to assist his people to obtain supplies *en route.* I frankly told him that his object was to obtain influence through me, for his nominee, that on any other occasion I would be most happy to comply with his request, but I could not allow even the appearance of supporting either party. I, however, softened my refusal by remarking that a man of his high rank, accompanied by a large retinue, must necessarily influence the election. The Rajah (for all the brothers were so called) paid me several visits afterwards.

On the last occasion, accompanied by his young bride, whom he was escorting to his home from the house of her father, the Rajah of Soondoor. She walked up the steps of our house, leaning on her husband's arm in English fashion, and shook hands with Mrs. Dobbs and myself with the most perfect ease. She spoke Canarese with a sweetness of voice I had never before heard. My wife was able to converse with this lady in Canarese, in which she (the bride) could both read and write. The Rajah could converse in English.

The election took place on the appointed day, and the selection made gave universal satisfaction. When I next went to Chittledroog, the recently-appointed Gooroo sent me several pressing invitations to visit him, which I could not comply with, till he recognised my position as chief officer of Government, by paying the first visit. This he would not stoop to, and I never entered the monastery.

A very amusing incident in connection with a Gooroo occurred to me many years after this. I was riding through his village, and when passing his door he met me, accompanied by a large retinue, and urged me to enter and see his place. As I was in my riding costume, without any attendants, my complying with his request, in this informal way, did not involve any acknowledgment of his rank. I dismounted and entered the reception room, when I observed a large gilt chair (the Gooroo's throne), and an ordinary one. I at once realised the position, and with a careless step, and off-hand manner, moved quietly towards the throne. The Gooroo's attendants, in con-

sternation said, "This way your lordship"—pointing to the chair. I remarked, " It is of no consequence," and seated myself on the throne. The Gooroo, who could not object or express dissatisfaction, took his seat on the chair. This was considered by the natives a diplomatic victory.

On one occasion the principal Gooroo in South India made a tour throughout the various provinces with many elephants and camels, and a retinue of 500 followers. He levied contributions from all his disciples, and those in Government employment had to give two months' salary.

My chief native officer complained to me in bitter language of this intolerable exaction. "Then why, Venket Rao, do you give it," I said. " Why, sir, if I did not, he would abuse me in the bazaar, calling me all manner of names, and of course I could not subject myself to such insults."

The native officials were always rejoiced when my camp did not lie on any Gooroos route.

Under the Rajah's government, the Pagodas and religious institutions were under the control, or subject to the interference, of Government officials.

At first, on our assumption of the administration, appeals were made to British officers, of which I will give an illustration.

On my first visit to Daveroydroog, on which there is a celebrated pagoda, the priests, five in number, urged me to go through their temple, even the sanctum. Shortly after, petitions were addressed to me by influen-

tial members of their caste, accusing these priests of being drunkards, and praying for their dismissal.

The receipt of petition after petition induced me to refer the complaints to the Chief Commissioner, who directed the native judges to inquire into and decide the case.

Four years after this I pitched my tents on the hill, and had several gentlemen on a visit with me.

On my attempting one morning to enter the pagoda, the priests (my old friends), mistaking me for one of my guests, said the *Doda Dhoree* (myself) had given strict orders that no European was to be admitted. I inquired, of course in their own language, whether the temple would be more polluted by an English gentleman entering it, or by drunken priests conducting the services. They at once recognised me, and entreated me to enter, but I declined.

As I may not make any further reference to Daveroydroog, I must here mention one of those, to us, inexplicable occurrences connected with lightning which we sometimes hear of.

I was sitting in my office, on a projecting spur of the hill, having a pen in my hand, and about to sign a paper which was being handed to me by a native clerk, when I was struck by the electric fluid, and paralysed for a few minutes. The pen remained fixed between my fingers. My head was not affected, and I felt sure I had lost the use of my limbs for ever. I was, however, soon able to rise, but with a feeling of pain in both arms. On taking

off my white cotton coat, and tucking up my shirt sleeves, I found that the hair was completely burnt off both arms, but there was no smell of fire on my body or clothes. The clerk, who at the time was standing, was struck down, and four or five other persons in the room could not move for a few seconds. The window, glass and frame, were smashed, and the post of the door nearly opposite was deeply indented, showing that the lightning entered by the window and went out by the door.

I lost the feeling of pain in a few hours, but the clerk was confined to his bed for two days.

At the time I was struck, and apparently by the same flash, for there was no other at the time, a flock of forty sheep, grazing at the foot of the hill, were all killed.

Anecdotes illustrating native character.

I will now give a few incidents which illustrate native peculiarities. For years there were fierce fights in the large town of Goobee, regarding the portions of the principal street through which the processions of the several castes had a right to pass. When making the public road, I was doubtful whether to carry it outside, or through the town, but decided on the latter.

By selecting this line I unintentionally disposed of serious disputes, which had caused trouble for generations. The road was now considered a Government one, and all parties and castes had an equal right to it.

In Dodairy there was a dispute about the right to a temple—five on one side and one thousand on the other.

The parties filed a suit in the Court of the native judge of Chittledroog, who decided in favour of the minority; against this decision the majority appealed to my court.

The five men also personally applied to me to confirm the decision of the lower court. When I asked them whether their thousand opponents would be satisfied, they replied in the negative. I then asked if a thousand men could be put into jail for an offence of this kind, and the idea amused them. I did not, however, consider that a dispute of this description ought to be decided by the courts, so quashed the whole proceedings, and directed the disputants to have the quarrel settled by a punchayet amongst themselves, and this was done.

The difficulty of getting at the truth in India is well known, but the little importance that is attached to truth, even by men of the highest position, may be illustrated by a few facts.

I arranged with my principal native official, a man of high family, to meet me at a certain village to inquire into charges of bribery, brought against several of the most wealthy cultivators. As I approached the village, I heard the native official, in a loud voice, assure the villagers that the Superintendent had given handfuls of gold and silver to other villagers who had told the truth, and that he would do the same on this occasion. I called out—"Kaisha Rao, how can you tell such falsehoods?" "Oh, sir, we cannot get Government business done without telling lies," was his reply. On further expressing my indignation, he only laughed, saying, "I have luckily got some lies told before you arrived."

An Amildar (the head of a subdivision), a Mohammedan gentleman, was anxious to capture a notorious robber called Mushia; but though he had him several times in his power, he and his police were afraid to seize him, so great was the terror this desperate man had inspired.

He then hit on a device for accomplishing his object. He assured Mushia that the Superintendent did not know anything about him, but was desirous to obtain general information about the robber tribes which he, above all others, was qualified to give.

In order to give confidence, the Amildar pretended to swear on the Koran (having substituted a brick covered with silk to represent the sacred book). This proceeding he mentioned to me afterwards, without any feeling of shame, but on the contrary, as deserving of commendation.

The Amildar brought the man to my court, and of course I did not allow him to depart free. Mushia was convicted of several crimes, and transported to Singapore for life.

Mohammed Gouse paid for his treachery and false oath, for rumour after rumour reached him that Mushia had made his escape; and he often told me that neither he nor his family could sleep at night, with any comfort, from fear of being assassinated by this robber, who he knew would wreak his vengeance on him if he had the opportunity. I may mention that Mohammed Gouse was one of the most intelligent and energetic police and revenue officers in the Division.

On one occasion a charge of robbery was being tried in my court, and during the examination my suspicion of its being a trumped-up case was aroused by the complete agreement of the complainant and witnesses in giving evidence. It occurred to me that I might try an appeal to the conscience of the complainant, and I asked him if he would swear by the name of the Great God who created us all, and knew everything, that his statement was true. He replied, "Yes, if you command me to do so." (A compliance with his suggestion would, in native opinion, have thrown all responsibility on the judge). I rejoined, "Of course I cannot, but I do command you to swear whether your complaint is true or false." He swore it was false. A result which produced a greater sensation in a crowded court than I ever before or since witnessed.

The complainant then made a clean breast, and confessed he had got up the accusation from motives of revenge.

SORCERY.—That men and women are often possessed of evil spirits is universally believed by all castes and sects of Hindus, but no alleged case ever came under my notice; not so as respects sorcery, which was practised every where, and to a great extent. Certain individuals were supposed to be endowed with the power, and they always used it for evil purposes.

Many cases came before me of persons having been killed or injured by the alleged power of a sorcerer, and in every instance it was found that he acted at the insti-

gation of some one who could pay for his services, to revenge himself on an enemy.

The mode of procedure was this: An image of clay was first made to represent the victim, and if the intention was to cause death, thorns were stuck into the heart, but if only injury or pain, the thorns were stuck into some other part of the body.

The sorcerer was often seized in the act, having, in addition to his effigy, a small earthen pot, and a variety of ingredients which he mixed together, before proceeding with his incantations. My conviction always was that the victim suffered, even to the loss of life, from fright on hearing of his having been bewitched.

I never recognised any supernatural power in the sorcerer, but punished him, when convicted, for performing certain acts with the intention to kill or injure.

The people sometimes, as formerly in England, took the law into their own hands. I never heard of an attempt to bewitch an European, but the native Christians, Protestants as well as Roman Catholics, believe in its power. The family of a catechist who died in my house in Sholapore, in 1828, of malignant small-pox, insisted that he had been killed by sorcery.

NATIVE CHRISTIANS.—Having written at some length in illustrating the habits of Hindus and Mahommedans, I may now give some information about native Christians.

I must candidly confess, that during my sojourn in the Chittledroog Division very few natives were converted to Christianity, and that the secular and scriptural education

of the young afforded the chief encouragement to the zealous Protestant Missionaries who laboured there.

There were no Roman Catholic Missionaries or schools in my Division. Priests from Bangalore occasionally visited the descendants of the natives who were converted in the last and early part of the present century. If we can judge of the character of these converts by the opinion expressed by the celebrated Missionary, Abbè Dubois, we must conclude that nothing was gained to the Church of Christ, or by the converts themselves, by their professing Christianity.

A reference to the Abbè's letters on the state of Christianity in India will show that it was his opinion that amongst his thousand converts he had not known one real Christian, and that God had decreed the Hindus to eternal damnation. Under that conviction he left India.

The Rev. Mr. Chevalier, the senior Roman Catholic Priest in Bangalore (afterwards Bishop), on several occasions spent the day, and dined with us, when he came to Toomkoor to visit the native congregation, which was chiefly composed of Sepoys of the Rajah's force.

Mr. Chevalier applied to me for a site to build a chapel on, which I, of course, granted, as all the land belonged to Government. I considered all sects and castes had an equal right to free grants of land for buildings set apart for worship, for when land could not be obtained from private persons, refusal would have been tantamount to persecution.

My friend, Chevalier, followed up his request for land,

by asking for convicts to build the chapel; this I declined, and a few days afterwards, when I was absent from head-quarters, he made a similar request to my assistant, Captain Harvey, who explained that he could not comply, as he fully concurred with my decision.

I was, however, always glad to oblige Mr. Chevalier, when his requests were, in my opinion, reasonable, and we had many friendly discussions.

On one occasion I remarked that I believed all Romanists who truly believed in the Lord Jesus would be saved. "Can you say the same of Protestants?" "No, you cannot be saved out of the true Church; but, at the same time, I do not believe that a good man like you can be lost, but that God will, if necessary, send an angel from heaven to convert you."

The following facts will illustrate the character of the Roman converts among the uneducated class.

A dressing-boy of mine, called David, was at the same time deacon of the Roman Church in Toomkoor, and head of the Pariah caste in that town; and in virtue of his position he had to settle all religious disputes between the converts, and also between those still in heathenism.

On one occasion, when I was encamped at Mudgherry, a *heathen* dressing-boy asked permission to conduct the Sunday service for the "Roman Christians." "What do you mean?" I replied; "you are a heathen." "Oh, yes, but I can read, and none of the Christians in Mudgherry can, so they always ask me to read their service when I come here."

Shortly before I left India the Commissioners of Divisions were called on to obtain the opinion of the Missionaries of all the Churches regarding a new Marriage Act. All the Protestant Missionaries approved of the proposed Act, but the reply received from the Right Reverend E. L. Charbonnaux, Roman Catholic Bishop of Mysore, corroborates the general opinion that the Roman Catholic Mission is satisfied with an almost nominal change of religion in the converts to their Church.

The Bishop's opinion was to the following effect:—
"While not giving any opinion upon the propriety or otherwise of the existing state of things in the native Catholic Church, it is my duty to communicate the fact, that we have made it a rule never to interfere with the domestic and social customs and ceremonies of our converts, except such as involve the essentials of religion, and consequently marriage is conducted among them in much the same manner as formerly. My belief is, that the introduction of a purely Christian form would completely destroy the harmony that now exists between the Catholic Missionaries and their congregations. I therefore cannot approve of the proposed Act."

I will now narrate some incidents of more general interest. There was latterly in India a strong feeling in favour of the newly-introduced system of homœopathic treatment. In 1850 I was encamped at Davengerry, eight miles from the cantonment of Hurryhur, where my dear friend, Colonel B., commanded. His wife at the time was prostrated by an attack of low fever, and was attended by two medical men.

I rode into the cantonment every evening to keep my friend company, and help to comfort him in his affliction. Each night, for fourteen successive days, her husband and I looked upon the invalid for, as we believed, the last time, the doctors having declared on each occasion that she could not live till morning.

At last they said they could do no more, and would not object to the husband treating her in his own way by homœopathy, in which system he had the most implicit confidence.

He then took the case in hand, and in a few days his wife began to mend. For twenty-one days she had not recognised any one, except a Missionary, an excellent but cold-mannered man, who prayed with her. When he left the room, she observed, "Oh, how formal." On the morning of the twenty-first day of her illness, the Colonel and I were at breakfast, when we heard Mrs. B.'s voice in the drawingroom, to which place her couch had been removed for change. Being next the door, I jumped up and rushed into the room—her first words were, "How do you and the Colonel agree on prophecy?" "We are generally agreed," I replied. "So I expected," she said, and she never again lost consciousness. She steadily recovered, and has since enjoyed health and vigour.

It is rather remarkable that the only individual she had any recollection of was the Minister whose prayer was distasteful to her.

In the same year I made the acquaintance of Mr. S., Judge of Bellary, who since his retirement from India has

published some infidel works, too shallow to excite any attention in England, but which, owing to the high position he latterly held in the Madras Presidency, have been much esteemed by educated natives. Many of whom were led to believe that a production from the pen of a former judge of the High Court, must be an able refutation of Christianity.

The harm thus done, is my justification for publishing some remarks on peculiarities in Mr. S.'s mental qualities, which may show intelligent and educated natives that his judgment was defective, and that he should not be considered a guide in matters of religion.

I preface my statements by remarking, that I ever found Mr. S. a gentleman of refined mind and taste, a warm-hearted friend and a delightful companion. I have deeply mourned over his fearful fall, and continued to pray for him till my faith failed.

Notwithstanding his superior abilities, Mr. S. was always considered very eccentric.

Though for a considerable time he was very earnest in religion, he was ever adopting some new view or other, and he had no control over his imagination, the freaks of which he himself attributed to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

I give one striking illustration, the accuracy of which I can vouch for, having received the information from the parties concerned; indeed Mr. S. made no secret of the circumstance I am about to relate. He fell desperately in love with a young lady of my acquaint-

ance, and assured her that the Holy Ghost had revealed to him that she was to be his wife, and that she must obey the commands of God. Even after this lady was married, he continued still to declare that Heaven had decreed she was to be united to him, and this must some time or other come to pass.

S.'s decline from religion began with this disappointment, and was very gradual. At first, as he told me himself, darkness came over his mind, and he was so bewildered that he could neither believe nor disbelieve anything.

I invite the educated natives of Madras to examine the works of the late judge, viewed in the light of his peculiar mental formation, and they will, I believe, find that imagination, and not reason, guided the pen of the author.

The Falls of Garsoppa.—In the several accounts I have read of the celebrated Garsuppa Falls, there is no description of a phenomenon seen at their foot.

A party of twelve friends, including myself, arranged to visit these falls in the dry, bright, cold season of December. The leader of our party, Mr. Fisher, the collector of North Canara, kept standing for our accommodation the temporary huts which he had erected for the Governor of Madras, who had previously spent some days there.

At the time we paid our visit there was no bungalow on the Canara side, and only a small one on the Mysore side.

For the benefit of those of my readers who have not seen or read an account of these wonderful falls, I will briefly describe them.

The river runs between North Canara and the Nuggur Division of the Mysore territory, and above the falls is of considerable width. The water formerly flowed at a higher level, but its action has gradually worn away the rocky bed, while at its foot the overfall has scooped out a basin of considerable extent, with a deep pool, and the stream flows onwards through a narrow channel in a very deep gorge.

In the wet season the river rises to a great height, and the body of water is very great, and those who have witnessed the falls at this season describe them as truly magnificent; but as the constant downpour and the multitude of leeches which infest the place during the rains, take away from the enjoyment, very few go there during the Monsoon.

In the dry season the water falls over the precipice in five distinct streams, all of them nearly perpendicular, the principal one quite so.

Many years ago a party of naval officers threw a rope across the chasm, and at much personal risk succeeded in measuring the large fall, and found it to be nearly 900 feet in depth, or five times the height of the great Falls of Niagara!

The view from above is exquisite from the enchanting scenery on all sides, but the strong and healthy must descend to the bottom by an almost perpendicular path,

to obtain a perfect view and a real idea of the great height of the falls.

I have now to describe what to me, though I have travelled in India, Africa and Burmah, surpassed in wonder anything that I ever came across.

When close to the spray, we stripped off all our clothes, except our trousers, and walked over the slippery rocks to the verge of the over fall. In the course of a few minutes we passed from a clear blue sky, bright sun, and comparatively little noise, into the midst of the spray, which fell on us like heavy rain. The roar of the rushing water was deafening, and louder than thunder, while in every direction brilliant prismatic colours lighted up the whole scene. The scene was further enlivened by multitudes of wild pigeons flying backwards and forwards.

I have no power to describe the beauty and magnificence displayed, but I was so spell-bound that I could not bring myself to leave the spot till I felt chilled, and feared I might suffer from further exposure.

At night we had lighted torches and fireworks thrown over the falls, which produced a curious and pleasing effect.

We were a congenial and, I may add, a genial party, the high spirits of the younger members not being checked by our sanctifying all our enjoyments by prayer and praise.

Not only as an old man, but equally in my youth, I have never been able to fully enjoy the beauties of God's

creation at pic-nics, where the Creator was never spoken of. I never could or can be happy where the Lord Jesus is absent from the feast.

We had nothing to mar the enjoyment of five pleasant days. I care little for city enjoyments, except the gatherings for God's worship, but the impressions made by wandering amongst nature's works, such as the Garsoppa Falls, and examining the wild flowers as well as the great forest trees, can never be effaced from the memory.

Oh, my God, is it possible that in these days there are learned and scientific men, who profess that they do not believe in a personal Creator. Let me wander amongst wild animals in the forests rather than enter the society of such men, however much they may be praised by an ungodly world.

CHAPTER XII.

Transfer to Bangalore.—Its present condition contrasted with that in 1835.—Two Tragic Events.—Bible Meeting.—The Fort Chapel.—Female Education.—Mrs. Sewell.—The Misses Anstey.

IN 1860 I was transferred to the Bangalore Division, my head-quarters being in Bangalore, which place I first visited in the beginning of 1828, and where I was now to reside during the remaining years of my sojourn in India. When I left it in 1835, on my appointment to the Chittledroog Division, we had to travel in palanquins, over a mere track, and in some places through thick jungle, the bearers missing their way several times during the night.

There was no cart traffic at that time, though travellers sometimes used carts for the conveyance of light loads of luggage, and our engineer, Captain Green, sometimes amused himself by calculating the number of times a cart would be upset between Bangalore and Toomkoor.

A young missionary, who had not as yet acquired a perfect knowledge of the vernacular, was told that a royal tiger had crossed the track half an hour previously, carrying its cub in its mouth. On his arrival in Bangalore he caused some sensation in the cantonment by reporting that it was *a child* the tiger had been seen carrying.

The contrast on our return was striking, as my wife drove in her carriage from bungalow to bungalow—a mode of travelling too luxurious for myself.

The contrast between the Bangalore cantonment of 1828 and 1860 was equally striking. In the former year there was only one church and one chaplain, now there were three Episcopal churches, one Church of Scotland, and several Mission Chapels, also a fourth church under construction. There were also three English chaplains, one Scotch chaplain, one Episcopalian clergyman appointed by the Colonial Society, and several missionaries belonging to the Wesleyan, London Mission, and Baptist denominations.

In the former year there were but few Europeans or East Indians, except those connected with the military force. Within the period specified, two villages had sprung up, Mootacherry and Shoolay, inhabited principally by pensioned soldiers and their families. Throughout the cantonment many retired officers and widows, with their families, also resided.

There were forty-five unmarried ladies, exclusive of widows, in Bangalore on my arrival in 1860, while in 1828 a lady rejoicing in single blessedness was a "rara avis." A number of large, commodious houses had been built on the high ground and other suitable localities, outside the military lines. In the largest of these the Chief Commissioner resided.

A Government College and several Missionary Educational Institutions had sprung up, also a railway station, and several other public buildings.

Before entering on the state of society, I would connect my early acquaintance with Bangalore by narrating two tragic events: the one caused by strong drink, and the other by evil company. The former I omitted to mention in my "Reminiscences of Christian Life in India." In the beginning of 1828, one morning I met the Brigadier, who said to me with deep emotion, indeed with tears, "I am on my way to perform a melancholy duty, to arrange for the execution of the unfortunate young soldier."

The circumstances were these: The 18th Royal Irish, then stationed in Bangalore, had a pre-eminently bad reputation for drunkenness, so much so, that the commanding officer found it necessary to confine the men to barracks each month, on pay-day and the day following. There were only two men in the ranks considered to be religious—one of them a corporal of some standing, the other a young private. On one occasion his comrades induced the latter to take a glass of arrack, which, he being a total abstainer, went at once to his head, and he continued to drink till reason was overpowered. The following night, while suffering from the effects of his excess, he shot his friend the corporal.

I need not say he would willingly have died to undo the terrible act. His crime was virtually drunkenness and not murder, and there was every reason to believe that his repentance was not only bitter and sincere, but that he was, through the mighty power of God's grace, able to rest on the precious blood of Christ for pardon.

The following is the second event to which I have referred. Lieut. Davis, son of the senior Chaplain of Bombay, was religiously disposed, and attended the Weekly Bible and Prayer Meeting, then held in Capt. Clarke's house. One evening on his way there, he was met by some young men, who persuaded him to go with them to a party given by Lieut. Jolly. The latter officer, as usual, was under the influence of drink, and picked a quarrel with his guest, in which strong words were used.

Davis, however, thought no more of the occurrence; but early next morning, as he was going out of his house, an officer met him with a challenge from Jolly. He started and said, "How can I fight without a second?" The officer replied, "We have provided one for you, and you must accept the challenge." The poor young fellow, without time for reflection or consultation with any of his friends, was hurried away to the tope on the high ground where duels formerly took place.

Davis was shot through the head, and died after lingering for two days. He was conscious to the end, and it was the happy conviction of those who attended him, one a medical officer, that he died a true penitent. Jolly and the seconds were tried and sentenced to terms of imprisonment in the Madras jail, and the former was subsequently transferred to the Invalid corps, according to the usual practice of those days for shelving bad characters.

It is unnecessary for me to moralise on these cases;

but I may remark, that it is impossible for young Christians to be intimate with the ungodly without injury, if not ruin. To resume my remarks, I may say that but few of my friends of 1835 were still in Bangalore, but I found a considerable number of young officers who were anxious to have some old experienced brother to bring them together in Christian fellowship, and I equally rejoiced in having the privilege of opening my house for meetings, and as formerly for entertaining all comers.

Our meeting was held once a week, and commenced at eight o'clock, half an hour after officers met for dinner at mess ; the bachelors therefore found it convenient to dine with us, and we had a large gathering.

This meeting was continued for some years, but was eventually broken up by the controversial spirit of some of our party who adopted the extreme Plymouth views.

We had, nevertheless, many opportunities for Christian intercourse, and for speaking a word in season to some who had not found the only source of true happiness.

My principal religious work, however, was one I never could have anticipated on leaving Toomkoor.

There was a little chapel in the Fort, the Minister of which, Mr. Webber, had been ordained a Clergyman of the Church of England in connection with the Colonial Society. His congregation consisted of a company of British soldiers, who were constantly relieved, the staff of the Ordnance department and their families, and

others who resided in the Fort. He had also charge of a Military Hospital.

An arrangement was made between Mr. Webber and the three Government Chaplains of the large cantonment churches, that he should undertake the tours of visitation to the several out-stations, and also perform their duty when they were absent on privilege or other short leave. Hence came an opening for my engaging in regular ministerial work, and I undertook the charge of the Fort congregation on Sundays, during Mr. Webber's absence, an aggregate period of about six months in the year.

We had in this chapel, to my taste, by far the best choir I ever heard. Two ladies living in the Fort, the wife of Colonel Campbell, R.A., the Commissary of Ordnance, and her sister, were accomplished musicians, and had excellent voices. They led the singing, and instead of mouthing the anthems, as is too often the case, uttered the words distinctly, and thus enabled the less educated members of the congregation to follow.

The chaplain of the Church of Scotland, the Rev. Stewart Wright, an earnest evangelical minister, also invited me to take part in his weekly evening services.

By God's grace, I never allowed my connection with my own branch of the Church of Christ to interfere with my Christian liberty, and this led to my taking part in the services in the Wesleyan Chapel; indeed, I had the privilege of preaching the first sermon on the opening of the new chapel.

Taking part in the Union Prayer Meeting, and presiding at the examinations of the Missionary Schools, and at the meetings of the Missionary and Bible Societies, gave me congenial spiritual work, which did not interfere with my public duties.

In 1835 the Government took little interest in education, and at that time not much had been effected by the London or Wesleyan Missions; the only societies which had Missionaries in the Mysore Territory.

Shortly afterwards Sir Mark Cubbon gave large grants in aid to the Wesleyan Mission, for the construction of educational institutions, and towards defraying the cost of educating the natives.

It is worthy of remark that when, by order of the Supreme Government, all direct connection with the Missionary Institution was withdrawn, and a Government Institution, with a well-paid establishment, was sanctioned, the Wesleyan Institution continued to hold its own. Many natives of the highest castes and classes preferred to take advantage of what they considered its superior secular education, and made no objection to the study of the Bible and other Christian books. A very striking proof that the exclusion of the Bible from the Government Schools was a measure utterly uncalled for.

In 1835 female education had not been commenced. On my speaking to Sreenavasa Rao, a clever, intelligent Brahmin, and the head native under me in the Chief Commissioner's office, about the progress of female education in Calcutta and Madras, and the desirableness of

making a commencement in the large town of Bangalore, he gave me a look, which clearly indicated astonishment at my ignorance of native ideas and feelings, and spoke in Hindustani words to this effect: "I assure you, sir, that we have the greatest difficulty in keeping our women in order, and if they were educated they would turn us out of the house."

The first attempt, as far as I know, to reach the higher class of females, was made by Mrs. Sewell, of the London Mission, sister to the well-known Mr. Hitchcock, of St. Paul's Church Yard, London, who gained access to the Zenanas, and apparently had a great opening before her, but her labours were cut short by sickness, which compelled her to return to England.

Efforts were made, however, by the ladies connected both with the London and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies to educate the girls, but not much was accomplished among caste girls (I write under correction), till two young ladies came out in connection with the London Mission.

The Miss Ansteys were daughters of an English clergyman, and applied first to the Church Missionary Society, who could not then avail themselves of their services. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of these ladies who, after some training in Edinburgh, were sent to Bangalore. They had one advantage over others, in possessing independent means, and they were most ardent and enthusiastic; their zeal, however, at first led them into some mistakes. They kept aloof from all society,

even that of Christian friends, for the purpose of giving themselves exclusively to study; and they made rapid progress in acquiring a knowledge of the Canarese language. Neither my wife nor I had much intimate acquaintance with them till the last year we were in Bangalore.

We then came across them in the country, when I was on an official tour. We found them preaching in the villages, and living in the native choultries. We invited them to join us, as we had spare tents for their accommodation, and they marched about with us for a month, to our great enjoyment.

On entering a village they sang a hymn, and when the men gathered round them, they ordered them away, and asked them to send their wives and daughters, as they did not come to teach men, but women. They did not wish any police protection, nor did they need it.

I found that they sang English hymns, it never having occurred to them that Canarese would be more appropriate and acceptable; but on the suggestion being made, they gladly substituted hymns in the vernacular.

I examined their schools in the Pettah a month before leaving Bangalore, when the number attending was 260, all caste girls. I was particularly interested in observing the admiration and devotion of the children to their teachers, which must have been most encouraging to them.

After I returned home I learned that the numbers in these schools increased to nearly 600.

Eventually the youngest Miss Anstey was married to a Missionary of the Church of Scotland, and the eldest

sister was compelled by bad health to come home for a season. Having recovered, she returned to India, and is now working with her wonted zeal at Colar (about forty miles from Bangalore), where she has undertaken the charge of several hundred famine children, in addition to her missionary work.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR MARK CUBBON.

IN 1861 the health of my dear old chief, Sir Mark Cubbon, failed, and in the month of April he embarked for England, which place he never reached, as he died at Suez on the 23rd of the month. His remains were, however, preserved in a leaden coffin, taken home by Dr. Campbell, and buried in the family vault in the Isle of Man.

Though a sketch of the life of this statesman does not come within the scope of my reminiscences, I may be permitted to pen a few fragmentary notes concerning one with whom I was intimately connected, officially and socially, for twenty-seven years. During this long period there never was an hour's interruption to our friendship, though in temperament and tastes our characters were at the antipodes. Sir Mark was the son of a Manx clergyman, and came to India in 1801, a boy of sixteen years of age. On arrival he joined his uncle, Col. Wilks, then Resident at the Mysore Court, and he continued to be intimate with his uncle's successors.

Thus as a youth he became versed in native habits and intrigue, and was early trained for the special work to which he was subsequently called.

Early in his career he was appointed to the Commissariat Department, the top of which he reached on the appointment of Col. Morrison to the Residentship of Travancore, and, rather singularly, he succeeded that officer in the Chief Commissionership of Mysore, on his appointment to the Council of the Government of India.

Three names were placed before Lord William Bentinck: Mr. John Thomas, of the Madras Civil Service, Col. Fraser, and Col. Cubbon. The influence General Morrison had with the Governor-General turned the scale in favour of his friend Cubbon.

I served under Col. Morrison for a few weeks, so was in the Commission before Sir Mark joined, and alone, of all his early deputies, remained till the end of his administration. Sir Mark was pre-eminently a statesman of the Monro type, and was, I believe, the last of that school. He was particularly in his element when engaged in disentangling webs of native intrigue, and fought the natives with their own weapons, with one noble exception. He abhorred and never used espionage, and often spoke of the failure of Europeans who descended to such tactics. He sometimes told the story of how the Hon. Arthur Cole surrounded the Rajah by well paid spies, and was baffled by the Rajah giving them double remuneration to report to the Resident only whatever His Highness wished to be known.

Sir Mark was intensely conservative, and his strong reluctance to change would have been more than inconvenient had not his opinions been corrected by his read-

ing. Though strict in prohibiting his subordinates from making any communication to the press regarding Mysore affairs, he read all the papers published in India, and the leading English journals, and was thus influenced to introduce reforms when convinced they were demanded by public opinion.

Another feature in his character tended to neutralise his conservative obstructive tendencies. In all matters in which he considered his deputies possessed practical knowledge, he gave them great liberty in exercising their own judgment, and often told me that he did so on this principle—that it would be inconvenient and undignified for the head of the Government to cancel measures he had sanctioned, should they prove unsatisfactory.

Some might have been backward to use the liberty granted, but all knew that under one so generous and kind-hearted they would be secured against any of their errors being made public, while they were corrected in such a way as not to hurt their feelings.

In social life Sir Mark was quite the old Indian; his breakfast-table was always open for all comers, and his assistants and intimate friends were always welcome at his dinner-table. He had, of course, occasionally to give large public dinners, especially when the Governor-General, the Governor of Madras, or the Commander-in-Chief were staying with him, but he did not relish large parties. He preferred to have a few intimate friends round him, before whom he could unbend. He had a special dislike to balls, and never allowed a dance in his

house. He was passionately fond of horses, and kept forty, fifty, and even sixty in his stables as pets. For the purpose of encouraging the breeding of high blood animals he had a number trained for the races, but never up to the mark required, his object being to pay the fines, which I remember on one occasion amounted to 1,100 rupees.

I would now add a few words on his religious views, which I believe were but little known except by Captain Chalmers and myself. I base my conclusions on this matter on the fact that some of his most intimate worldly friends after his death expressed the greatest surprise that he had ever been interested in religion.

He certainly gave some countenance to this opinion by never attending any place of worship, and by sometimes amusing his guests by jocose or sarcastic remarks about the inconsistencies or follies of religious professors.

He also laid himself open to the charge of dislike to the ministers of religion, by the strong disgust he always expressed against the priestly pretensions of the clergy. He was, however, strict regarding the Sabbath, and required all the native courts and offices (even when all the officials were heathen) to be closed on Sunday, and he would not receive native visitors on that day.

I may be considered in some measure qualified to speak of General Cubbon's religious views, having had frequent conversations with him on this subject, sometimes for hours together. On one occasion, after three hours' conversation, he used these words when I was

leaving: "I know there is no hope of any man except through the atonement." On another occasion, when accompanying him through my Division, I walked by the side of his horse, my own being led behind, from Myasundra to Coongull, when, entirely of his own seeking, conversation turned on Christian doctrine. His views on the Divinity of Christ were then undecided, but he was deeply interested. Eventually he settled down in Arianism, that is the doctrine that the Lord Jesus was above all created beings, but not God.

He held, however, very decided views on the doctrine of the fall of man, and the utter corruption of the human heart.

After the conversation above noted, I endeavoured in correspondence to show that the doctrine of the atonement, and the denial of Christ's Divinity were irreconcilable. In reply, he maintained they were not so, and that he held both.

On one subject we were perfectly agreed, that was, the spiritual tyranny of the Popish system. He may have been reserved in speaking to others on such subjects, but he had no reserve with myself; he considered Popery and the liberty of the human mind irreconcilable.

When war with France was apprehended, after the revolution of 1848, he consulted me as to the measures to be adopted to prevent the French Priests in Mysore from using their influence to excite the native mind. My opinion was that the priests had no influence among

the respectable classes, the Roman Catholic converts in the Mysore territory being almost exclusively of the lowest caste; but as chaplains to our troops, they might be disposed to work on the feelings of the Irish soldiers. I need not add that all fear of war was soon dispelled.

The following anecdotes will illustrate the humorous side of his character:—

Sir Frederick Adam, Governor of Madras, had a great dislike to evangelical men, while in their opinion he was half a Pharisee and half a Greek. He lost no opportunity of showing his hostility to public officers holding evangelical views, and this hostility led him to outrage reason. When reporting on the insurrection in Lower Coorg, soon after the conquest and annexation of that country, he attributed the disaffection to the fanaticism of the officers of the Mysore Commission, though, with the exception of the Chief Commissioner, they were in no way connected with Coorg. This report by the Governor induced Sir Mark, when addressing the Supreme Government, to emphatically remark that this was the only insurrection in India with which he had been acquainted that was entirely free from the religious element. Afterwards he humorously remarked to us, his assistants (this was early in 1834, before Divisions were formed), that we had a chief who was above all suspicion of being a religious fanatic, and that it was well we had such a man to protect us.

Lord Macaulay, on his first arrival in India, stayed for

ten days with Sir Mark Cubbon. One evening he had a party composed exclusively of his secretaries and assistants to meet the historian who, after dinner, began to amuse us, young men, with ribald stories about English Bishops. Sir Mark, who always respected the feelings of others, whether young or old, showed by his manner that he did not approve of these stories, and his guest observing that we were all silent, quickly changed the conversation.

Our Chief Commissioner was very free from bigotry, and had a most affectionate regard for Capt. Chalmers, who was a man of decided piety. I never heard him speak of any other man in the same warm, affectionate language.

He could always enjoy a good joke at the expense of his juniors, but sometimes found the young Irishman rather quick in his retorts. For instance, on entering his tent one day, when he had some guests unknown to me, he said, with a hearty shake of the hand, "Glad to see you, brother Dobbs." I looked into his face, and replied, "I wish, Colonel, you were a brother."

On another occasion, he said to me at his dinner table, "Dobbs, were you ever drunk?" of course expecting a serious negative, which would give the company a good laugh at my expense. I replied, "Yes, I was when only three or four years old, an event which I never could forget, having been horribly sick."

I now come to the close of Sir Mark Cubbon's administration. In the beginning of March, Mrs. Dobbs and I paid him a farewell visit when he was residing on

his hill sanatarium, Nundydroog, preparatory to his departure. There were several other friends with him; and on Sunday, the last day of our visit, my dear old chief requested me to have service. I asked him whether he would prefer the Church Service or extempore prayers and exposition; he expressed a preference for the latter, and though he could hardly move from gout in his feet, he knelt down during the prayers, and appeared deeply attentive throughout.

My wife left a Bagster's Bible for him when leaving on Monday morning, the receipt of which he acknowledged by letter the same day.

I annex an extract from this letter, his last communication to us, and also some extracts from a letter from Col. Macqueen, communicating the particulars of Sir Mark's death and funeral:—

NUNDYDROOG, *12th March*, 1861.

"MY DEAR MRS. DOBBS,

"One of the first things that met my eye yesterday morning was your present of the beautiful Bible, beautiful in every way, for which I am sincerely obliged to you, and which I shall highly value and take care of, both for its own sake, and the sake of the donor. The print is too small for me at night, but that is not of much consequence, as I shall consult only the references, and have five other 'Editions of the Scriptures'—one in three volumes, a magnificent quarto—and another in one volume, a huge imperial folio, near a cooly load, with

print that one could almost read in the dark. These shall be my companions on the passage home, and your present will help me to understand them.

"I know it is supposed by many that I have either never given any attention to the subject, or am a deliberate unbeliever. But this is a mistake . . . .

"Yours very sincerely,

"M. CUBBON."

Extracts from Colonel Macqueen's Letter.

"And now with regard to the old man. He died, as you must know, of liver, or the bursting of an abscess on his lungs; died as no doubt he had lived, calmly and confidently stating his reliance on the promises held out for those who believe, his last words being, 'And through no merit of my own.' This can have but one meaning. He said he had no desire to live longer. He passed away without a sigh. . . . Campbell brought the body home, after encountering difficulties that no man else could have overcome. Haines and myself met him at Southampton, when it was resolved to bury the old man in the Isle of Man; and Campbell, Haines, and myself accompanied the remains to Douglas from Liverpool, arriving about five in the evening of the 16th May. A gun was fired, colours were hoisted half-mast high at the Government House, in the Harbour and Custom House. After nightfall the body was removed from the vessel to a church near at hand, and at ten next morning (17th May) we went to the church, found all the Volunteer

Artillery out, and the clergy and town authorities in their official dresses. Every shop was shut, and the whole population crowded the way we were to pass by.

"The Volunteers accompanied us through the town, from which the burying-place was distant fully seventeen miles, by a hilly, narrow road. The shipping in Douglas and all along the coast had their colours half-mast high. Every church, Catholic and Protestant, tolled their bells, and at intervals all the way were groups of well-dressed and also of the poorer class of people.

"When we came within three miles or so of the old burying-ground we were met by an immense concourse of people, and perhaps 300 ladies, or such as appeared to us to be so. The Rifles were out, and a society of something like Freemasonry, Odd-Fellows, picturesquely attired, joined the procession, and the crowd and all followed till we arrived at the General's last resting-place. When the coffin was taken out of the hearse, a gentleman came up and said it was the wish of every one that Haines, Campbell and myself (officers of the Mysore Commission), should, with one of the countrymen, form the pall-bearers, and this was done. The service was read, and the old man was the first laid in a tomb intended to contain the remains of his brother and surviving sisters. . . . A clergyman present stated that he had always received £150 a year from the General, but had to say nothing about it. Haines, Campbell, and myself entered the tomb, and being affected at taking our last sight of what contained all that remained of

what we thought the best and the greatest of men, the crowd surrounding us testified the most sincere sympathy and respect.

. . . . . .

"We did not get back to Douglas, the post-town, until half-past eleven at night, but I am sure no three men could have been more satisfied than we were, with all the honours paid to the old man's memory. The Archdeacon said, 'In that vault lies the greatest man this island has produced for centuries back.'"

CHAPTER XIV.

Changes in the Mysore Commission.—Mr. L. Bowring.—The Abkari System Condemned.—Summary of Improvements and Reforms: Financial Results.—Comments on our Judicial System.—The Promotion of Natives.

THE last official act of Sir Mark Cubbon, previous to his departure, was to make arrangements for the administration of affairs pending the orders of the Governor-General.

Mr. C. B. Saunders, C.B., Judicial Commissioner, was appointed to officiate as Chief Commissioner of Mysore, Lieut.-Col. Dobbs as Judicial Commissioner, and Captain Hay, the Secretary, as Commissioner of the Bangalore Division.

This arrangement was confirmed as a temporary measure, and continued for fourteen months, when the above-mentioned officers reverted to their permanent appointments on Mr. L. Bowing, Private Secretary to the Governor-General (Lord Canning), being raised to the Chief Commissionership.

Personally, I was not disappointed, for, as a rule, the post of Judicial Commissioner was given to a civilian.

There was no change of importance during Mr. Saunders' incumbency, as in his uncertain tenure of

office he did not feel justified to alter the existing state of things.

My work was the usual routine of hearing appeals in civil suits and deciding criminal cases of a grave character referred by the Commissioners of Divisions.

An incident occurred during this period which illustrates the difficulty Missionaries have in testing the sincerity of professed converts. A Mussalman arrived in Bangalore, stating that he had fled from the cruel persecution of his own people in Hyderabad, consequent on his accepting the truths of Christianity, and that he was now anxious to be baptised.

The Missionaries in Bangalore deferred complying with his request till they could have conclusive evidence of his sincerity. He was in the meantime provided for by some of the military officers in the cantonment, who wished me to examine him. He, however, always managed to evade me, and after a short time decamped, carrying off Lieutenant Luxmoore's gold watch.

Several months after I was visiting a Missionary in the City of Mysore, when he gave me a most interesting account of a convert from Mohammedanism whom he had just baptized, after instructing him for two months in Christian truth.

I remarked that several circumstances in the narrative the man gave of his career tallied with what I had heard of the professed convert in Bangalore, and I requested Mr. Hutcheon to bring him to the Residency the next morning.

Immediately on the man appearing before me I gave him a knowing look, and with a stern voice said in Hindustani, "What have you done with the gentleman's watch?" Taken off his guard, he replied, "I did not steal Luxmoore Sahibs watch, but left it with a man in the cantonment pettah." This was, of course, conclusive evidence as to his identity; he was therefore forwarded to Bangalore under a police escort, and there convicted by the Cantonment Magistrate and sentenced to hard labour.

In the month of April, 1862 Mr. Bowring arrived, and entered on the duties of Chief Commissioner. This officer was junior to Mr. Saunders, and many years my junior. I found him to be possessed of brilliant abilities, great powers of application, and untiring zeal; in the latter alone I claimed equality with him in official life.

I cordially proffered him the benefit of my local experience, which he as cordially accepted and made use of; and after thoroughly looking into the reforms I had effected in the Chittledroog Division, on my own responsibility, carried them all out on a broader and more defined basis throughout the territory.

Mr. Bowring also obtained the sanction of the Supreme Government for promoting natives to a higher position than I had contemplated, though I had repeatedly advocated the improvement of their status and remuneration.

This was, however, a small matter compared with the complete reorganisation of all departments which he carried out.

The four Divisions were reduced to three; and instead of each Division being managed by one Commissioner with one assistant, each Division was subdivided into three districts, each of which was managed by a Deputy-Commissioner with several assistants, English and native.

The Commissioners of Divisions were thus relieved of all original jurisdiction, revenue, civil, and criminal. The Deputy had almost the same position and duties as formerly belonged to the Commissioner, and the latter had appellate jurisdiction, relieving the Chief and Judicial Commissioners of a large amount of work hitherto performed by them.

I will presently offer a few remarks on these revolutionary changes which, if he had been living, would have made the hairs of the old conservative chief stand on end.

On the improvement of the country I was, with one exception, in accord with my young chief—that exception was the management of the Abkari or liquor trade. This branch of the revenue had gradually been brought more and more under the direct control of Government officials, and, in my opinion, with disastrous results.

Mr. Bowring took a much greater interest in the Abkari than did the late chief, but both, by the course they adopted, aggravated the evils of the system. They were, no doubt, honest in professing a wish to check drunkenness, while at the same time taking measures to increase

the revenue by the increased consumption of strong drink.

For twenty-nine years I had watched the actual working of our system, and had formed very strong convictions that the fostering care of Government was most injurious; the facts that had come to my notice showed that there was not only an increase of drunkenness among the lower classes, but, what was a far greater evil, the higher classes were being led into habits which under the native Government were never thought of.

The officials of the establishment were well paid, and this induced the educated classes, Brahmins included, to seek for employment in the department. Thus gradually the shame and degradation which was attached to intoxicating liquor was considerably weakened, till intemperance, though practised secretly, became common among most respectable members of native society.

When the Commission was first organised in 1832, the liquor revenue of the town of Bangalore was only £3,600, but gradually increased to £20,000.

My conviction, even before Mr. Bowring's arrival, of the demoralising effect which resulted from Government patronage was great, and I was really alarmed by contemplating the impetus to intemperance which his important changes would necessarily give. I therefore felt constrained to afford no more aid in this branch than the Chief Commissioner's instructions absolutely demanded.

On one occasion, when I was residing on the Daveroy

droog hill, the abkari contractors gave Mr. Bowring much trouble and annoyance by their complaints.

He sent me several demi-official notes requesting me to dispose of these complaints, and evidently wishing me to go to Bangalore for the purpose; his respect for my grey hairs prevented him ordering me to do so.

Eventually I ordered the whole body of contractors up to my hill retreat, and there, at my leisure, made all things square. On any other matter but that of the Abkari, I would cheerfully have complied with my chief's wishes. I will now give a brief summary of the principal improvements effected in the Mysore province under the British administration during the thirty-three years I held office there.

We found the country in a state of anarchy, and overrun by gangs of robbers. These were almost entirely suppressed and order established.

The works of irrigation were greatly out of repair, and consequently rice cultivation much neglected. The injured works were repaired, and some new ones constructed.

There were no roads except, as already stated, a very imperfect one. The whole country, in the course of a quarter of a century, was covered with a network of high and cross-roads.

The uncertain tenure by which the cultivator held his land, and his liability to be oppressed and squeezed, caused at least half the land to be left uncultivated; and the chief revenue officers constantly affirmed that it was

not safe to allow any cultivator to possess more than was absolutely necessary for food and raiment, alleging that if he obtained any independence, he would cause trouble to the Government. The assessment has been lowered when found too high; and land is never taken from any man who pays his rent. Remissions are also not only made in bad seasons, but even in favourable seasons, to individuals who, from causes for which they are not responsible, are unable to meet the demand.

Traffic was almost suspended by the number of custom-houses established at short intervals all over the district. These were abolished, as also many hundreds of taxes.

And before I left the province, the Revenue Survey had made considerable progress in lowering and equalising the rents.

The financial result of these improvements and reductions was remarkable.

The revenue, between 1833 and 1867, rose from 42 lacs (£420,000) to 109 lacs of rupees—that is, nearly trebled.

The population also rapidly increased; but unhappily was subsequently considerably reduced by a terrible famine in 1877-78.

There was a serious famine in 1866, when the Chief Commissioner, aided by private contributions, was enabled to feed those absolutely in want, and there was then no decrease of population. Those at all read in Indian history need not be told that, under the old

native Government of Mysore, provision was never made from public funds to avert the horrors of famine; and in the beginning of the century, whole districts were depopulated.

I now approach a question which is open to difference of opinion—that is, the benefit or otherwise of our judicial system in India.

I believe that in the conviction and punishment of offenders, and the protection of all classes from acts of violence and fraud, criminal jurisdiction has proved a great blessing; but I candidly acknowledge that much is to be said in favour of the native opinion, that nothing was gained by the establishment of our Civil Courts.

As I was the only British officer (Sir Mark Cubbon excepted) who could, from personal experience and an intimate knowledge of the facts, fully compare the working of the old and new systems, I may be considered to have some right to offer an opinion on the subject.

Under the old native system, civil disputes were generally settled by a caste or village punchayet (jury), selected by the caste or village people as the case might be.

No law expenses were incurred; and public opinion in their own little world, the village, had a tendency to secure substantial justice. Though the natives had but little moral or religious principle of truth, there was a strong recognition of the rights of property; and a dishonest principal or witness came under the ban of those with whom he had daily intercourse; and this feeling

generally ensured a just decision. The Hindus are, however constitutionally fond of litigation, and being freed from all social shame when their case was tried by a strange and distant court, their only consideration was how victory was most likely to be obtained; and as a rule, bribery, perjury, and fraud were considered legitimate weapons in this kind of warfare.

The civil judge was helpless in his endeavours to suppress bribery among his native subordinates, and cases of bribery were always difficult to prove. I believe our civil courts have ruined many. I will give one illustration. The head of the richest family in the Chittledroog Division died, and left a number of descendants to divide his property among them. For eight years, in my patriarchal capacity, I kept them out of court, pointing out the ruin that would come on all, if they entered on a course of litigation. Eventually they filed suits in the civil court, and the result was as I feared: the family fell from the highest rank of farmers to the position of ordinary cultivators.

I have been told again and again that no case could succeed without bribery. My only consolation in this branch of my duty was, that indirectly the influence of caste was weakened, by men of all castes having to come to our courts on a common level.

There is another change I am constrained to touch on, but lightly, and with less confidence—that is the promotion of natives. As I have already remarked, I always

advocated it within certain bounds, but the difficulty is to decide the limit of these bounds.

Many of the native officials have abilities equal to any of their European superiors, but they are generally wanting in back bone. Their dependence on even young Englishmen when moral, not physical, courage is required, has come before me in many and various ways; but the chief difficulty in promoting them is the want of confidence the natives themselves have in the impartiality of native judges. Another difficulty is the intense spirit of envy and jealousy that exists among the candidates for office.

I am confident many of my old native friends in Mysore will bear me out in the statement that every native of India considers he has higher qualifications and greater claims than his neighbours. I never knew one to admit the superior qualifications of another.

Another difficulty arises from the universal practice of a rich member of a family having to support all his poor relations, who are sure to abuse their position, by obtaining bribes for the use or pretended use of their influence with their relative in power.

There is only one other subject on which I would remark, namely: that it is generally admitted that apart from religious instruction, the Government and people are indebted to the Missionaries for the commencement and earlier progress of secular education.

There cannot, I think, be any doubt that the Scriptural instruction always given in the Mission Schools and in

the Government Schools, whilst under their superintendence, raised the moral tone of those educated, and made their promotion less difficult. Though I can never visit Mysore again, I must always have a lively interest in a country where I spent the best portion of a happy life; and it is due to the people to state, that they always showed gratitude to myself personally for my efforts to promote their welfare.*

* *Vide* Appendix.

SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope—Dr. Phillips and the abolition of slavery—Escape of Rev. Mr. Owen and family from Zululand.

IN the beginning of 1840 my health broke down, and my medical attendant ordered me to the Cape of Good Hope.

Accompanied by my wife and children, I embarked early in March on board the *Lord Lowther*, an old East Indiaman. We had a pleasant voyage of two months, and I had some congenial occupation in reading the Scriptures to, and praying with, some sick soldiers on board: the officer commanding having cordially accepted my services for this purpose.

Several of the men were deeply interested, and one of them died rejoicing in his Saviour on the voyage to England after touching at the Cape. The circumstances connected with his death were communicated to me by our friend Mrs. Stones, who, with her husband, Major Stones, were our fellow-passengers.

The Romanists occupied cots alongside of the Protestants, but only one of the former expressed dissatisfaction, and that was on the first occasion of my speaking to his neighbour. The midshipmen invited me to read and explain the Scriptures to them in the evenings, but in my then weak state of health, I could not bear the heat of their small mess cabin, so was soon obliged to give up this meeting.

We arrived at the Cape at a time of considerable political excitement. The Kaffre war, which had just terminated, and the abolition of domestic slavery, had stirred up violent feelings on all sides, and as is well known one of the results was the emigration of Boers to Natal, with the intention of founding there an independent republic, in which slavery would be an institution.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban had been succeeded by "one arm Napier," a change of Government which was much regretted by many.

We Indians knew very little of Napier, for he ignored us; but we had no cause to regret not being invited to Government House. Our Cape Town acquaintances told some laughable stories of the Governor's speeches, which showed that he was not endowed with the tongue or pen of a Napier, though he possessed the bravery of the family.

This appears to be the most suitable place to furnish an account of the then burning question—the abolition of slavery. It is well known that whenever any great

work has to be accomplished, God raises up men fully qualified to undertake it.

Dr. Phillips, Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, was peculiarly fitted for the work which he undertook, being possessed of an energetic sanguine temperament and great abilities.

Having collected accurate information from all sources, he employed the pulpit and the press to expose the evils of slavery, following up these endeavours by publishing a book full of details.

This work, in the opinion of the slave-holders, was libellous; and no doubt this was the case, on the principle that the greater the truth, the greater the libel. So strong was the feeling against the doctor, that only one individual had the moral courage to be seen walking with him in the streets of Cape Town —that individual was Miss Bird, a young lady, twenty years of age, daughter of the celebrated Wilberforce Bird, and first cousin of Archbishop Sumner. On the day of the trial the Governor (not Napier) and staff, and in fact all the aristocracy of Cape Town, appeared in court to influence the case in favour of the plaintiffs.

A conviction with very heavy damages was awarded. The defendant, on returning home, much cast down under the apprehension of financial ruin, was, however, agreeably surprised to find on his table a bag containing the exact amount of the damages. I was told by himself that he could never discover the donor.

The cause of mercy and liberty, I need scarcely say, eventually triumphed, and years afterwards this persecuted author was looked up to by all classes, while the more respectable Boers admitted that the abolition of slavery was productive of good to themselves.

One Cape lady told me that her grandmother had sixty female slaves, who were a great nuisance to all the family, lying about the house, lazy and idle, having really nothing to do. The old lady herself admitted they were of no use, but that she must take care of her property!

While party spirit ran high in the political world, there was the most perfect quiet and friendliness in the ecclesiastical sphere. The ministers, much less the members, of one Church were never heard speaking in disparaging terms of the others.

This state of things can easily be accounted for. There were four State Churches equally endowed, and each having the same status. These were the Dutch, the Lutheran, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the Church of England.

The last-named had neither bishop, dean, nor archdeacon.

The Missionaries of the London and Wesleyan Societies were excellent men, who worked zealously in their own spheres without any controversy with others.

The Rev. Mr. Owen, Church Missionary in Zululand, returned from that country with his wife and sister under the following painful circumstances, the particulars of

which were given me by Miss Owen, a remarkably intelligent, energetic woman :—

The people were very friendly to the Missionaries till the invasion of their country by the Boers, who, as already stated, had emigrated from the Cape Colony.

I have not materials at hand to enable me to give an account of the barbarous warfare practised by both parties; but the treacherous massacre about to be narrated may be taken as a sample.

A conference was held a few miles from the Mission station, for the professed object of establishing friendly relations between the leading Boers and the Zulu chiefs. In the middle of the night on which the conference was held, the Owens were aroused by the alarming intelligence that all the Boers had been massacred, and that they might expect to share the same fate.

After the conference the Zulus offered to entertain the new-comers by exhibiting their war-dance, and their offer was accepted. In the dance, they contrived to surround the Boers, and gradually to contract the circle till no opening was left by which escape could be effected. When near enough, they rushed upon their unsuspecting victims, and slaughtered them to a man. Then before intelligence could reach the main body of the Boers, encamped at some distance, the Zulus came suddenly on them, and destroyed them all.

The Mission party were not molested for some time, but were kept in a state of awful suspense. Eventually,

however, they were allowed to depart with all their goods, except the best waggon, which the chief appropriated for his own use. After a tedious and uncomfortable journey, the Owens reached Cape Town in safety. Miss Owen was full of life and vigour, and ready to enter on new mission-work, for which she was well qualified.

CHAPTER II.

Religious Society in Cape Town—Brief Notices of its principal Members.

THE central figure, so to speak, of the religious society in Cape Town and neighbourhood, was the Hare family, in whose house a weekly prayer-meeting was held, presided over by some experienced Christian layman.

The President, at the time of my arrival, was Captain Rowlandson. He had succeeded Captain Chalmers on his return to India; and when Captain Rowlandson left, I took his place.

I will endeavour to give a brief sketch of some of the friends who assembled there, beginning with the Hares. Mr. Hare went to the Cape as a Lieutenant, in a cavalry regiment, but retired from the service, and settled in the colony, having married a daughter of Wilberforce Bird, formerly Secretary to the Colonial Government. Mr. Hare was a quiet, amiable gentleman, who was brought to a knowledge of the Saviour when advanced in years.

He delighted in religious services, especially the prayer-meeting held in his own house on Mondays; he would not, however, permit hymns to be sung, as he could not

get over the associations of his younger days, when psalm-singing was considered a mean and low occupation, unworthy of a gentleman. He admitted his weakness, but said, he would feel ashamed if any of his old friends when passing his house, heard the singing, and were able to say, "Old Hare has become a psalm-singer."

All his friends, appreciating his worth, bore with his singularity in this respect. Mrs. Hare, and her sister, Mrs. Robert Bird, reminded me of Martha and Mary. The former did not indeed resemble Martha in her sinful, fretful, anxious carefulness about many things, for she was full of faith and good works; and without neglecting her own children and family duties, was ever on the look-out for cases of distress and sorrow, that she might relieve and comfort. She was truly ever ready to rejoice with them that rejoiced, and weep with them that wept. This mother in Israel was a bright example to all her friends; and being strong and healthy, she could accomplish more than many others.

Her sister was married to her first cousin, Mr. Robert Bird, of the Bengal Civil Service, well known in India as an able revenue officer, who organised and carried out the assessment of the North West. Mrs. Bird was the lady, already mentioned, who showed such strength of character and moral courage in standing by Dr. Phillips, when he was forsaken by all his friends.

She was a Mary in her meditative and contemplative character, quiet and retiring, but possessing high in-

tellectual powers, and a close student, especially of the Bible. Her physical powers did not allow her to render much assistance to her sister in her active works of kindness and charity; but with a clear head and well-stored mind, with warm affections and sympathy, she was ever ready to give the benefit of her knowledge and experience to others. Men of experience were ever happy when enjoying the privilege of conversation with her. My most lively recollection of Mrs. Bird was in connection with her habit of sitting day after day, for hours together, on the rocks at Green Point, book in hand, yet always ready for conversation on Scriptural subjects. She was truly, in the judgment of all her friends, a heavenly-minded woman.

The family of the Hares were, on the whole, well disposed to the religion of their parents, but the youngest daughter showed hostility to the instruction given her. One day, Mrs. Hare, with a sorrowful heart, said to a mutual friend of ours, that her faith was almost failing her in pleading to God for this daughter; the very next day she wrote to this friend and gave her the joyful intelligence that her daughter was rejoicing in the Lord Jesus.

I would next speak of the Rev. Mr. Blair, who was married to one of the Miss Hares. This clergyman had been a Captain in the Army, and on his conversion passed through deep spiritual conflicts, which ended in his resigning the Military service. He told me he had been so ignorant of spiritual religion, that for two years

after the Spirit of God had given him a new heart, he could not open his lips on the change to any one, as he believed that his experience must be different from that of all other men. (Another friend of mine had a similar experience.)

He at last found peace, and determined to devote his life to seeking the spiritual good of others. His father was a wealthy West Indian planter, and his first intention was to work among the slaves on his father's estate, but to this his father would not assent. Eventually he was ordained as a minister in the Church of England, and when I went to the Cape he was officiating as Military Chaplain to the Forces, with the expectation of being confirmed in the appointment.

The Rutherfords (two brothers) and their families quite identified themselves with us Indians, and we considered their friendship well worth having, for they were delightful companions as well as earnest Christians.

The only other family I will at present refer to, was that of Mrs. Rose and her daughter, Mrs. Harris, who kept a boarding-school for young ladies. These ladies sought the spiritual welfare of their pupils, and invited Christian officers from India to conduct a Bible class in their house once a week. In this work also I succeeded Captains Chalmers and Rowlandson.

I will have occasion to speak again of this school, but now record one of the many instances of God's grace shining forth through the weakness of man. Mrs. Rose's

son was defective in intellect; quite incapable of undertaking any secular business, yet possessing a deep experimental acquaintance with the simple truths of salvation; his delight was to distribute religious tracts and portions of the Scripture, speaking at the same time a few words about the love of Jesus.

CHAPTER III.

Move to Simons Town—The Rev. Mr. Judge.—Interesting episode connected with a convict ship.

FOR some time after my arrival my complaint, chronic dysentery, got worse, till I had to lay up, and send for a medical man. Dr. Nicholson, Deputy Inspector-General of the troops, attended me, and his prescriptions were the very opposite to those prescribed in India; there I was directed to eat animal food and drink wine; Nicholson put me at once on farinaceous diet, prohibited all stimulants, and gave me no medicine, except one pill of Ipecacuhana daily.

Under this altered treatment I soon recovered, and most heartily gave the Dr. £10, the first medical fee I ever paid.

When convalescent I moved with my family from Wynberg to Simons Town, the sea air being considered desirable. Dr. Nicholson committed me to the care of Dr. Campbell, the Assistant Inspector in charge of the naval station.

On the first occasion of my proposing a long walk, Campbell said he would accompany me, to take care of me. We walked over the range of hills between Table Mountain and Cape Point, and back again; this knocked

the Dr. up, and he declared he would never walk with me again.

On being thus rapidly restored to vigorous health, I looked out for some work, and had no difficulty in finding it. Mr. Judge, the Naval Chaplain, was an excellent man, belonging to what was called, the old Evangelical High Church party and his wife was out-and-out evangelical; both abounding in good works. The Chaplain, twice a week, gave two hours' religious instruction in the Naval School, but being rather delicate he was happy to avail himself of my services for the performance of this duty.

I will never forget the face of the schoolmaster, expressing blank amazement, when I declined to teach the Church Catechism. I greatly enjoyed, however, teaching the boys out of the Bible for more than two months.

Mr. Judge also asked me to assist him in his Sunday School, observing that he would teach the Catechism, and leave the Bible instruction to me. After a while he gave me the sole charge. The school was held in the afternoon, in the Church, just before evening service. I was a regular attendant at the morning service, and at Communion, but preached in the Wesleyan Chapel in the evening, going direct from the Church. I also accompanied Mrs. Judge in her visits among the poor.

The Chaplain continued to be my warm friend, though he often expressed to others his disapproval of my working with dissenters, and declining to teach the Catechism.

I mention all this to show that when there is an agree-

ment on the essentials of religion, combined with a loving spirit, difference of opinion on minor points is consistent with the fullest communion and fellowship. As far as my experience enables me to judge, I believe that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, temper, pride, and self-importance, and not difference of views, separate Christians. I speak, of course, not of nominal, but of real Christians.

I must not omit to relate an interesting episode in my work, while residing at Simons Town. A convict ship, on its voyage to Australia, touched there for two or three days. There were one hundred and twenty convicts on board, all from Ireland, twenty Protestants, and the rest Romanists.

I went on board, and asked permission from Dr. Burn, the officer in charge, to distribute tracts and give an address to the convicts. He replied he had no objection, if the tracts were not of a controversial character. I had only one such (Andrew Dunn), which I put aside in my hat.

I spoke and preached to the poor fellows on that and the following day, and all without exception cordially accepted the tracts, and listened with deep attention to the address, calling out, when I left, in Irish fashion, "God bless your honor."

I heard afterwards that the Romanists appreciated my visit all the more, on account of the priest of Cape Town refusing to come to them, unless they first sent money to meet his expenses.

Dr. Burn told me, that not one of these unfortunate men had committed any grave offence; their crimes were either petty thefts of grain, taken under pressure of hunger, or rows with the police.

I asked one man, who appeared of a higher class than the others, what his offence was. "Oh, Sir, only a little quarrel with a policeman." And on my further enquiring whether he had knocked him down, he said, "Indeed, sir, that was all I did."

The sergeant in command of the guard of soldiers, a Romanist, overheard my first conversation with the Dr., and requested me to give him "Andrew Dunn." I replied I could not do so, contrary to the Dr.'s directions. "Oh, he did not mean me, but only the convicts." The Dr., on being appealed to, said there was no objection to my complying with the sergeant's request, and he seemed delighted to get the tract.

CHAPTER IV.

Move to Newlands—Brief Sketch of some of the Visitors from India—Conversion of Capt. Bayley.

AFTER a residence of three months in Simons Town, we moved to Newlands, the former Government House, about two miles from Wynberg, which was the favourite resort of visitors from India; and including some who arrived after us, our society numbered about forty, both sexes included.

We met from time to time for Christian fellowship. Our regular weekly meetings were, the noonday meeting at the Hares', when the president alone expounded the Scriptures, and an evening meeting at Mr. Edward Townsend's for prayer, singing, and conversation on a portion of the Bible. Some of our circle visited the poor, others acted as secretaries or committee men in connection with general or local associations.

My work was, as usual, evangelistic, besides presiding at the Hares' meeting, and conducting a Bible class in Mrs. Rose's school. In compliance with the request of the Wesleyan Ministers, I took the service for a time in their chapels in Cape Town, Rondebosh, Wynberg, and Simons Town, in accordance with their circuit rules. I also occasionally took part in Dr. Phillip's prayer and missionary meetings.

A brief sketch of some of our friends from India may be interesting. Mr. Edward Townsend, of the Bombay Civil Service, went to India about the year 1822-23 and was from the first greatly distinguished, both in official life and in active work as a private Christian. He was, I have heard, the first person who joined the Archdeacon of Bombay in a total abstinence association, established by that clergyman.

We were well known to each other, from my first arrival in Sholapore, through our mutual friend, Henry Young. When he was Secretary to Government, I wrote to him, and requested him to use his influence with the Government of Bombay to unite with the Mysore Government in bridging the Huggry; and we occasionally corresponded on subjects connected with our Saviour's Kingdom. We now met for the first time.

Townsend was not Irish-like in his manner, and was at first reserved with strangers. Immediately on his arrival in Cape Town, I went to the hotel where he and his family were staying, and seeing a gentleman on the steps, I said, "Are you Mr. Townsend?" He replied, "That is my name, sir." "Well, my name is Dobbs, which announcement at once produced every expression of warm and affectionate feeling.

Though Townsend was not a public preacher, he was, in a private way, an evangelist, and was greatly blessed by God.

I lately learned from one of his daughters that he

commenced to write his reminiscences, but from one cause and another, did not proceed far in the undertaking. He was a ready writer and a first-rate secretary. Our difference of habit in this respect may be illustrated by the following incident:—

A Bengal civilian, who was of an unsettled turn of mind, first left the Church of England and joined the Baptists, then the Irvingites, and now had taken up Tractarian views. This gentleman joined our religious circle, and endeavoured in every way to pervert the young people among us.

Townsend wrote him a long letter, pointing out the impropriety of his attempting to cause divisions in the Christian circle, and suggesting that he should withdraw from us if he could not keep his views to himself. I went to Mr. H., and personally expressed the same sentiments. This gentleman, as might have been expected from his fickle, unstable character, very soon returned to the gaieties of the world.

This was the only attempt at division amongst us, and it entirely failed.

Mr. Townsend was in his element when presiding at the conversational meeting in his own house. His mother, a very dear old lady, joined him in Bombay when she was seventy years of age, and accompanied him and his family to the Cape. His children were then young; but I have made the acquaintance of some of them since my return home; they are all following in their parents' steps, not only in religion, but also in the zealous promotion of total abstinence.

Major Jacob, of the Bombay Artillery, was one of our most active workers; his gift being principally in organisation; but though a very experienced, ardent Christian, with clear views of Gospel truth, which he expressed well with his pen, he always got confused when speaking *viva voce;* this was the more singular as he had an ardent desire to expound. Capt. Simpson, of the Bengal Service, was another active worker among the lower classes.

One very interesting character was Mr. D., of the Bengal Civil Service, a man of great abilities and accomplishments, a classical scholar, and a good linguist in the modern languages. He was about forty years of age when he came to the Cape, and had only been converted about two years previously. He was most earnest in making known a Saviour's love, in private conversation; and with child-like simplicity sought further instruction from his more experienced brethren. After retiring, on the completion of his service, on full pension, he entered Cambridge, graduated, and was ordained a minister of the Church of England.

The only other visitor from India, who was an evangelist, like myself, was Mr. George Alexander, of the Bengal Civil Service, son of a former Bishop of Meath.

The senior Chaplain of Cape Town, who held very high sacerdotal views, preached against us, in what was called the Cathedral, for presuming to take upon ourselves duties which he considered the exclusive right of ordained men; he also pronounced on us the curse of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram!

This circumstance recalls to my mind the conversion of Capt. Bayley, of the Madras Artillery. This officer had been for some time seriously ill, and when Major Jacob called to see him he found him in a most anxious state of mind. Mr. H., the senior chaplain, was Bayley's most intimate friend, and in his daily visits endeavoured to bring his friend to a peaceful state of mind, by reminding him of his regular church-going and exemplary life. Such teaching was of no avail, and the sick man said to Jacob, "Do you know any one who can explain the way of salvation?" Jacob, not considering himself qualified to meet his case, replied, "Capt. Dobbs, of your own Presidency, would, I am sure, be happy to come to you."

I went at once to the dying man, hitherto unknown to me, and found him ignorant of Gospel truth, yet intensely desirous to be instructed. For several days I expounded, with prayer, the first five chapters of Romans, and on entering his room one morning, I observed his face really shining with joy, and he burst out into rapturous expressions, declaring he was now prepared to die in the full assurance of everlasting life.

On my next visit, he told me that he had a visit from the chaplain, and that he said to him, "How could you speak against a man who has the gift from God of making known to me the way of salvation, so as to bring all this faith and joy?" Mr. H. replied, "However much I may object to Capt. Dobb's proceedings, I can now say nothing against them." From that day he never

spoke a word against Mr. Alexander or myself. Bayley lived for three weeks after his conversion, and died rejoicing in the Lord.

As one of my objects is to illustrate by facts different phases of religion, I record the following incident to show how knowledge and much profession may exist without practical religion.

A dressmaker was a great favourite with many of our ladies on account of her highly spiritual conversation, but after a time she spoke bitterly against her minister, Mr. Hodson, for having excommunicated her without cause.

From Mr. Hodson's character, I was satisfied he had good grounds for adopting the course he had taken; but to satisfy the ladies, I personally called on him for an explanation.

The case was a painful but simple one. The dressmaker was a habitual drunkard, and the minister refused to allow her to come to the Lord's Supper; he also declined to give her any written statement explaining his action, as he knew her object was to sue him for damages in the Civil Court.

Some of the ladies soon after found her drunk in her shop, which settled the matter.

Mr. Hodson, with whom I was intimate, constantly spoke to me, with sorrow, of the dead state of his congregation, and he believed there was not such a worldly congregation in the whole Wesleyan connection.

Having observed that the minister had some difficulty in dealing faithfully with his people, under the feeling

that he would be charged with personalities, I was stirred up on the next occasion I officiated for him to preach a practical sermon, beginning with these words: "Not knowing any of you personally, I cannot possibly be accused of addressing myself to any one in particular." My plain speaking, however, probed many sore spots, and there was an outcry against the minister for his unfaithfulness to Methodist doctrine, in allowing a Calvinist to occupy his pulpit.

Much to Mr. Hodson's regret, I was not permitted again to preach in the Cape Town Chapel, but I continued my tour of preaching in the other chapels already mentioned. Two years after I was very thankful to learn of a great revival of religion in that dead congregation.

CHAPTER V.

Journey to Graham's Town and Kaffir Land.—Incidents on Journey.—Evangelistic Work.—Return to Newlands *via* Port Elizabeth.

BEING desirous to see something of the interior, I arranged a trip to Graham's Town and Kaffirland, in company with three friends, Mr. Kindersley, of the Madras Civil Service, Mr. Henry Rutherford, a merchant of Cape Town, and Mr. Ainsley, a private gentleman.

We engaged a waggon between us, and set out on the 2nd of November, 1840. This mode of travelling, with relays of horses and bullocks, has often been described. After traversing five hundred miles we reached Utinage, where we purchased horses, and accomplished the rest of the distance to Graham's Town, ninety miles, on horseback. We had to cross a sandy tract, between Cape Town and Hottentot Holland, but found the country beyond very interesting, and the Dutch farmers kind and hospitable. The only instance in which we were charged too high for post-horses was by a *Frenchman*, who made great professions of kindness and attention, and nevertheless cheated us; the father of this man hailed from the Emerald Isle, his mother only being French.

The Dutch families, who resided at the stages where

travellers usually halted, possessed some knowledge of English, and were always glad to join us at family worship, which we never neglected, however late we might arrive. We always halted on Sunday, and had regular services, which were attended by some of the settlers.

The following are some of the incidents which interested me on our journey. On the 9th of November we halted in one of the small inns then to be found on the road; it was kept by a Mrs. Chalmers and two aunts, the latter being Dutch, but able to speak English. One of these ladies was sick, and asked me to visit her in her sick room, and the others joined us for reading the Bible and prayer. I found them a truly pious family.

While there a circumstance occurred which showed us that we ought not to form a hasty opinion about strangers. A young man, called Jackson, brought medicine to the sick woman, and as soon as Mr. Rutherford saw him, he remarked that he was well known in Cape Town as a great scamp. I replied that the work of mercy on which he had come would lead to a different conclusion. We subsequently learned that he was not only reformed, but was truly converted, and engaged in spiritual work among those around him.

We were hospitably entertained at Calledon by Mr. Millar, manager of an estate belonging to Colonel Henderson of Cape Town. Mr. Millar appeared to be a religious man.

The hot baths and burning fields at Calledon were objects of interest. I visited the latter, but Mr. Kinders-

ley advised us not to bathe, as after doing so, travellers were more liable to catch cold.

We next proceeded to Swelendam, where I had a most enjoyable time. The clergyman there, the Rev. Mr. Robertson, was the most spiritually-minded man I had yet met, and he hospitably invited us to stay with him, though he had a sick house.

His morning congregation consisted of about thirty individuals, mostly Episcopalians of the upper and educated class. Mr. Robertson said, that personally he would like me to preach to his English congregation, but they had a prejudice against laymen ; he hoped, however, I would address his large Dutch congregation in the evening, and that he would interpret. This I declined as not likely to be profitable. Mr. Robertson appeared to be satisfied with my objections, but at the conclusion of the hymn and prayer, called out from the pulpit, "Captain Dobbs, please come up and preach." I could not refuse, and got on much more satisfactorily than I anticipated.

The next morning, when crossing a river, some distance from Swelendam, the ferrymen looked hard at me, and said, " Are not you the minister who preached to us last evening ?"

We reached Utinage on the 17th, and found there a comfortable little inn, kept by a family composed of Scotch and Dutch, all of whom were earnest, religious people, who greatly enjoyed our services. Though we always found the Dutch very hospitable, we considered the accommodation of inns in the British settlement a great convenience and luxury.

We were now approaching Graham's Town; and at the last halting-place, were amused by a conversation between an auctioneer and his son. They were speaking of their professional duties, and one remarked to the other, that "no one could succeed in any business in Graham's Town, unless he had the mark of the beast upon him."

We afterwards ascertained, that the beast referred to, was the Wesleyan Methodist Church, whose influence at that time, through the Eastern province, was almost supreme. This was the natural outcome of its zeal in past years.

The Eastern District had been colonised by three distinct bodies of English, Scotch, and Irish, brought out by gentlemen, who made no provision for their religious instruction. These were scattered throughout the land, at a considerable distance from each other, and could not assemble at any one place for worship.

Under these circumstances, the Methodist Missionaries, especially the two Shaws (not related to each other), went about from house to house affording religious instruction. The families thus indebted to the Methodists brought up their children in this persuasion.

We arrived in Graham's Town on Saturday evening, and went to the principal hotel. The next morning I went to the house of Mr. Shaw, the principal Wesleyan Minister; he was absent at the Kowie River, but I found his son and daughter at home. The young people invited me to join them at breakfast, when I met two Wesleyan Ministers; at the conclusion of our repast,

Miss Shaw went out of the room to read the letter of introduction I had brought from Mr. Hodson, and then invited me to stay with them.

I went to the hotel for my saddle bags, and on my return the ministers, who, during my absence, had read Mr. Hodson's letter, insisted on my preaching both morning and evening.

I demurred about taking part at the morning service, being tired by a ride of ninety miles during the two previous days, but they would take no refusal.

Though feeling wearied when I entered the pulpit, the excitement of addressing a large congregation soon revived me, and I was thankful to have such an opportunity for speaking of God's love. After the service, I was requested to address the Sunday School, composed of three hundred English and two hundred Dutch and coloured children. This I greatly enjoyed doing. Though the afternoon was very wet, there was a large congregation in the evening. Graham's Town had, at that time, a population of about 5,000, of whom only two individuals were Romanists, yet the Propaganda was building a splendid cathedral, hoping, of course, to reap a harvest from among the Protestants.

About two-thirds of the population were Methodists, the Episcopalians and Independents dividing the remainder. These numbers appeared to be represented by the Sunday-school children. There were 600 on the roll of the Methodists, 300 on that of the London Mission, and 150 Episcopalians.

I was not long enough in Graham's Town to admit of my forming an opinion as to the spirituality of the several Churches; but outward appearances showed, at all events, great respect and attention to religious duties.

Scarcely an individual, except English travellers in the hotels, stayed away from his respective place of worship; and the streets throughout the whole of Sunday were remarkable for their peaceful stillness. No conveyance of any kind was ever seen, and there were no gatherings at the corners.

The servants were chiefly Fingoes, formerly slaves to the Kaffres, but liberated by us.

Messrs. Boyes and Smith, the ministers I have already referred to, informed me that a new chapel (the old one was burnt down by the Kaffres) was to be opened the following Tuesday, near the mouth of the Kowie. Mr. Shaw was to preach the opening sermon, but they hoped I would preach in the evening.

My horse being tired, Mr. Shaw kindly allowed me the use of his, and, accompanied by the two ministers, I rode on Monday to Bathurst, a distance of twenty-eight miles.

The scenery of the country we passed through was beautiful, varied by hill and dale, with high mountains in the distance, and occasional glimpses of the sea; the climate was perfection.

Bathurst was the prettiest village I had seen anywhere, and all the surroundings most interesting. The houses were detached in the midst of gardens and orchards.

The hotel, kept by a Scotchwoman, contained a number of small rooms, and was a model of cleanliness. For the first time since leaving home we were not troubled by fleas, and when I complimented the landlady, she replied, "We never give them time to breed." The next day after breakfast we rode to the Kowie, about twelve miles distant from Bathurst.

The chapel was situated near the river, which flows through an enchanting valley, and the scene I am about to describe reminds one of the days of our great-grandfathers.

The farmers came riding down the hillsides by narrow paths, with their wives or other female relatives on pillions behind them. These were dressed in their best clothes, of every hue and material.

On our arrival we found Mr. Shaw suffering from an attack of sickness, and unable to preach; so I was asked to take his place, and Mr. Smith preached at the evening service.

The first service, for the convenience of those coming from a distance, was held at three o'clock, and this did not interfere with the usual dining hour, 1.30 P.M.

A dinner was provided for the *gentry*, numbering about fourteen or fifteen, by the Deacon of the Cape Town Chapel, who had a summer residence at the Kowie. We sat down to a sumptuous repast, with wine and beer on the table, which, however, was not touched; all were practical abstainers, and several were very zealous in the promotion of temperance.

We assembled in the chapel soon after dinner, and when the service was over wandered in pairs through the beautiful woods. My companion, the Rev. Mr. Smith, was very intelligent and well read, and as he was desirous to go to India, was glad to obtain information regarding that country. I had, however, no difficulty in getting away for private meditation to a quiet secluded spot.

At half-past six a tea-party was held in the chapel for all classes, each individual, the ministers excepted, paying a shilling. I was handing my shilling to the collector, when my arm was arrested, and I was told "Ministers never pay."

Mr. Smith preached in the evening an interesting, profitable sermon, after which we rode back to Bathurst, having had a most enjoyable day.

I found Kindersley and Ainslie at Bathurst. After I left Graham's Town they, (Rutherford having gone to Port Elizabeth) made up their minds to visit the Kowie Valley. The next morning they went on, and I returned to Graham's Town, where they rejoined me in the evening.

On Thursday we left for Fort Beauford, where we arrived the following day.

Having a letter of introduction to Captain Herbert, I expected to stay with him, but found his house filled with the Governor's Staff, His Excellency having come to lay the foundation of a new bridge.

The Wesleyan Minister, Mr. Jones, also had his house

full, but procured me accommodation with some of his relatives.

On Saturday morning I accompanied the Rev. Mr. Calderwood to the London Mission Station, at the Krael of the Chief Macomo. The next day Mr. Calderwood had two services, one in Dutch and the other in the Kaffre language. At the latter I gave a short address, which was interpreted.

Owing to the threatening appearance of the weather, the Kaffres from a distance did not come, and the congregation, about two hundred, was considered very small, but it included the Chief.

It is hardly possible to describe the motley character of this congregation; the men were dressed in every kind of European cast-off clothes, some with soldiers' jackets, others in black blankets, and a few in the native kaross. The women were well clothed, but their garments were of the most fantastic shapes and description.

The scene was rendered more singular by the grunting and ejaculations of these people, when pleased with any expression in the prayers or sermon; all were unbaptised heathen.

Macomo was a mean-looking man, not to be compared in personal appearance to many of his followers, yet he could command 30,000 men to desolate and plunder the farms and houses of the English and Dutch over the border. It may appear strange, but nevertheless it is a fact, that this Chief and a large number of his followers attended the Mission Service regularly every Sunday.

Mr. Calderwood was some time after appointed Civil Commissioner of the District, and the Government did not consider this appointment inconsistent with his position as a Missionary.

As Mr. Calderwood was engaged to preach in the evening in the vicinity of Fort Beauford, and I had promised to preach in the Wesleyan Chapel, we started immediately after the second service, and to save time, took a short cut across the hills. The selection of this route was the cause of my meeting with a serious accident, which might have been fatal.

As we were riding up a very steep path, the saddle girths slipped down, so as to tickle my horse, the animal suddenly wheeled round and made a plunge, which sent me over his head twenty feet down hill. My companion, on dismounting, found me only bruised and shaken; and after resting a while, I again mounted, reached my destination in safety, and was able to perform my engagement in the evening.

Though I had escaped serious injury I did not feel able to accompany my friends into the interior of Kaffirland, and after a few days rest with Capt. Herbert, commenced my return journey to Cape Town. I found Capt. and Mrs. Herbert and her sister a pleasing, earnest Christian family.

On the following Friday I started for Graham's Town, accompanied by Capt. Herbert for the first fifteen miles; at this point we met Mr. Shaw travelling in his waggon to Fort Beauford, and had an interesting prayer-meeting

on the road-side. On arriving at Graham's Town, I went by invitation to the Rev. W. Loch, of the London Mission, and spent a couple of days very pleasantly with him and Mrs. Loch.

The next day, Sunday, I preached to a large congregation, including a number of officers and soldiers. Afterwards I addressed the Sunday-school, and preached to the native congregation.

The annual sermon by a Deputation was to have been preached in the evening, but a tremendous storm of rain and wind prevented the assembling of the people. Having purchased a second horse to carry my saddle bags, I started on Monday alone for Fort Elizabeth, a distance of ninety miles.

I cannot recall the name of the first halting-place, but on Tuesday reached the London Mission Station of Bethelsdorf, where I preached to the native congregation through an interpreter.

I came across very few persons during my solitary journey, and at every ten miles unsaddled my horses and gave them a roll in the sand. When passing through a forest of considerable length, my horses took fright at something (probably the scent of a lion), and the led one broke away from me; this caused considerable delay, and a feeling of anxiety that I might not be able to clear the forest before daylight failed. Eventually I caught the runaway, and proceeded on my journey without further mishap.

There was no made or defined roadway, but the marks

of horses' hoofs and waggon wheels made the track distinct.

On my arrival at Port Elizabeth, I found a vessel had sailed the day before, and that I must wait till the following Tuesday. This delay enabled me to preach on Sunday forenoon in the Methodist Chapel, and in the evening both to the English and native congregations connected with the London Mission. On Tuesday I embarked for Cape Town, taking my horses with me, as I could not sell them to advantage in Port Elizabeth; I however, regretted having done so, when I witnessed the misery the poor animals endured on the deck of a small craft in rough weather.

We put into Mussel for provisions, and while there I was entertained by a gentlemanly young man, who had a farm, and also kept a small store. I could not offer him payment, though I saw he was not well off, so made him a present of my travelling case of knives and forks.

I reached Newlands without any misadventure, right glad to get back to my wife and children.

CHAPTER VI.

Mrs. Rose's School—Rev. W. Blair—The Lutheran Church—American Man-of-War.

INSTEAD of resuming my regular preaching in connection with the Wesleyans, I commenced a Sunday evening service at Wynberg, in the school-house, by permission of the trustees; this service was held at half-past seven, so as not to interfere with that held in the church at five o'clock.

The clergymen, however, took offence, and by threatening to withdraw their subscriptions and support, induced the trustees to withdraw the permission they had granted.

In consequence of this opposition, I rented a large loft in the middle of the village, where my congregation was trebled, and I had reason to believe a blessing rested on the evangelistic work there.

Shortly after we moved from Newlands to Green Point, where a considerable number of English and English-speaking Dutch resided, mostly of the educated class.

As the distance from Cape Town did not admit of any one going there twice a-day, the residents generally entered into a proposal of Mr. Rutherford's, to have a

morning service in his large coach-house, which I was requested to conduct.

I also resumed my Bible-class in the ladies' boarding school, where my most attentive pupil was an engaging child eight years old; she received God's Truth with most marked attention. I was, therefore, not a little distressed to learn that her mother, a fashionable lady, had given directions that her child was not to attend my class, on the plea that I was a layman. She consented, however, at the urgent request of Mrs. Rose, to come and judge for herself whether there was any thing objectionable in the teaching. During the interval, before the girls assembled, I sat beside this lady, and overcame her scruples, and her dear child was allowed to attend the class. I know nothing of her subsequent history, but had no doubt of her being one of Christ's lambs.

I have already mentioned Mr. Blair, the officiating Military Chaplain, in which appointment it was expected he would be confirmed; but for reasons I need not specify a chaplain was sent out from England, and thus a well-known faithful man, whose ministry was highly valued, was sent adrift.

His friends from India were not only indignant at this treatment, but grieved that the colony should lose a true evangelical minister. They therefore presented him with a purse for immediate use, and sent a memorial to the Colonial Society. This was favourably received by the committee, and Mr. Blair was appointed their chaplain

at the Cape. Major Jacob and Mr. Townsend, with their ready pens, had the management of this matter.

I have given an instance of a High Church clergyman's estimate of lay-preaching, but in those days even evangelical clergymen considered such doings wrong in principle.

I was very intimate with Mr. Blair, and his life and teaching were entirely to my mind; yet one day when in my house, he said to me, "I am endeavouring to reconcile myself to your preaching; I cannot allow that you can speak with authority, though you may ask any number of persons to listen to what you say on any subject, and why not on religion?"

I forget my reply, but I know that I *felt* that unless persuaded I had the authority of God's Word, and the teaching of the Holy Spirit in explaining that Word, I could not speak on so solemn a subject as religion. I considered then, as I do now, that no man ought to be called by his fellow-men to preach unless he has received the baptism of the Holy Ghost, with the gifts which would enable him to declare the way of salvation to others.

The Church of England holds this truth in theory, as may be ascertained by a perusal of the Ordination Service. We ought not, I think, to acknowledge any man as a Minister of God, merely because a bishop's hands have been laid upon him, if his doctrine and life are evidently contrary to God's Word.

The Rev. Van Derdalston, a Missionary of the Propa-

gation Society, on his voyage from England to India, spent a week with us; he was a spiritually-minded, earnest minister of Christ, but troubled about the ministrations of his host. When speaking to him on the subject, I asked him whether, considering the dead state of religion, he would wish me to give up evangelistic work, he replied, "Certainly not." I rejoined, "What, then, is the use of a theory which breaks down when brought to a practical test?"

I need not dwell upon the change of opinion among churchmen of all schools, including our bishops, who are now calling out for lay-help.

The Lutheran Church in Cape Town was not only spiritually dead, but had long been inoculated by what is now called extreme broad-church views.

Shortly after my arrival, a very earnest evangelical minister, a Mr. S——, joined that Church as a coadjutor to the old clergyman; and one Sunday, after the conclusion of the sermon (I believe the first he had been present at), he rose up and warned the congregation against the false and dangerous doctrines they had been listening to. This caused a great commotion in the assembly and throughout the community. A Church Court was held on Mr. S——, and a complaint forwarded to the ecclesiastical authorities at home.

I do not remember the decision of the committee in Germany, but I know the young minister held on his course, not fearing the wrath of man.

While residing at Green Point, I had an opportunity

given me of obtaining some knowledge of the American Navy.

The captain of a man-of-war, anchored in the bay, requested Dr. Phillips to hold divine service in his ship on the Lord's day; the Doctor was at the time ill, and sent me as his substitute.

The service was held on the quarter-deck, and all hands attended; the officers were quite equal in polish and gentlemanly bearing to the officers of our own Navy, but probably they attached less importance to the fact that the officiating minister was not ordained.

I was particularly interested by the Captain showing me one bottle of brandy in the ship's medicine chest, which he assured me was the only stimulant on board. During bad weather the men on duty were well supplied with hot coffee, and I learned that this was the usual custom on all the ships in the American Navy. The Captain was most courteous, and with the wonted politeness of a tar, thanked me for my visit.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of different classes—Voyage to Calcutta—Return to Toomkoor.

A DESCRIPTION of the different classes at Cape Town and its neighbourhood, may not be without interest to some of my readers.

The Government officials, including the judges, were nearly all English, and were a numerous body with official duties ridiculously light, compared with that of the corresponding functionaries in India. The whole revenue of the colony was at that time less than that of a Collectorate, but the high-sounding titles gave the officials an air of importance.

There were not many first-class merchants, and the visitors from India had no right to form a favourable opinion of the shop-keepers and tradesmen; for we learned from our Cape Town friends that we were grossly imposed upon, being charged double for everything. The apology was that Indians were lavish with their money, and prided themselves on their expensive mode of living.

The Dutch population included every grade of society, and not a few gentlemen from India married ladies of Dutch extraction, and some English ladies married Dutch gentlemen.

A dear friend of mine, whom I found at the Cape, got his wife in an amusing way. His hat was blown off by a north-wester into a Dutch gentleman's grounds, and while in pursuit of it, a young lady ran out of the house to help him in the chase; her charms were attractive, and to my surprise, he one day told me that he was engaged to be married, a fact he had not then revealed to any one else. The Malays (Mahommedans) were a large body; their ancestors had originally come from the Straits of Malacca, and they retained their religion and national designation. Some of my friends endeavoured to introduce the Gospel among them, but I did not hear of any conversions.

The Dutch farmers were an industrious, honest class, very religious, if judged by attendance on ordinances, and I doubt not there were as many true Christians among them, in proportion to numbers, as are to be found in the corresponding class in England.

They were also most courteous and obliging to strangers. The grapes at Newlands having been eaten up, I went one morning, with a basket on my arm, in search of fruit. After walking two miles, I came to a large vineyard, where I filled my basket, and on asking the owner what I had to pay, he replied, "I could not think of taking payment from a gentleman who has come such a distance, and you are welcome to fill your basket whenever you wish, as long as my grapes last."

The lower classes, including servants, though called

natives, were all more or less of mixed blood, the result of the old system of slavery. An old woman was shown to me, as one of the few specimens of a pure Hottentot.

The servant class differs in many respects from its corresponding class in India, and also from the natives of that country. The servants in Cape Town were insolent, careless, and thievish, yet truthful. The Lutheran clergyman told me that on one occasion while he was conducting service in his church, his groom went off with his gig and horse, and on coming home to his master's house in the evening, instead of fabricating an excuse, he at once said, "I went into the country to enjoy myself, and you may dismiss me if you like."

Our male servants came with us from India, but our nurses, Cape women, were great pilferers, not only of our own things, but also those of our visitors.

The judges often remarked they had no difficulty in ascertaining the truth, for both criminals and witnesses gave their evidence in a straightforward manner. One feature in Cape life, which I believe was common in other colonies was, that educated gentlemen kept small shops, under the designation of stores.

Connected with this custom, the following incident may amuse :—A lady, who in after life was our intimate friend, was the daughter of a high official in Calcutta, who failed, after retiring from the public service, and set up one of the stores referred to. This, however, did not

exclude him from the best society in Cape Town, and his daughter, a dashing, handsome girl, was a great favourite in Government House, and on the strength thereof assumed high airs. One day a lady of position, calling on the Governor's wife, found this young lady alone in the drawing-room, who continued reclining on the sofa while speaking to the visitor. When Lady S. came in, she inquired from her visitor where she had been; the latter holding up a ribbon, replied, buying this in Mr. H.'s shop; the young lady then got up, and left the room.

Through my evangelistic work I became acquainted with many of the residents, who were not known to my Indian friends, and I was the means of bringing into our social circle a rather remarkable character. Mr.——— was the head of a tailoring establishment, and was consequently shut out of the higher circles of society. I made the acquaintance of this tradesman in connection with Dr. Phillip's congregation, of which he was a member; and on visiting him in his own house, found him to be not only a perfect gentleman, but endowed with superior intellectual abilities, and also a man of taste, taking a great interest in the fine arts; his wife was a lady by birth and education. My Indian friends, and also some of the residents, got over the social difficulty, and found this family a pleasant addition to our party.

How arbitrary are the by-laws of society; a man

called a merchant, though virtually only a shop-keeper, is eligible to enter it; while another, his superior in education, wealth, and character, is excluded on account of the designation of his business.

Visits from friends *en route* to England formed another source of enjoyment, and afforded opportunities for observing varieties of character.

On one occasion two friends came to us at the same time, one a Churchman, the other a Plymouth brother; the latter, as was common in those early days of the movement, expressed himself in conventional language, which was really unintelligible to others, but which I understood from my intimacy with many of the brethren. The result was constant discussions between my guests, which I happily was able to bring to an amicable conclusion, by asking the Plymouthite—Do you not mean so and so? and on his replying in the affimative, my Church friend expressed his entire concurrence in the opinion advanced.

Locke has laid down that men ought not to enter into a controversy till they have written a book explaining the meaning of their words—a truth exemplified in the case I have mentioned.

My happy residence at the Cape terminated in September, 1841, when I embarked, with my wife and children, on board the Duke of Bedford.

When going out to her we had a providential escape from a watery grave. When half way from the shore one

of those sudden squalls, common at the Cape, struck our boat, and the gunwale on the lee side went under water, which poured in on us for a few seconds; and when we reached the side of the ship, another boat, laden with luggage, dashed into us. The boatman having lost all self-command, acted like a madman, and called out, "I care not if we all go down together."

Including some of our friends from the Cape, there were ten passengers in the ship, and to our great surprise and delight all were of one mind in religion. This, however, did not sweeten the temper of our young captain, who declared he had never before heard of religion being talked of at a dinner-table. He had often met the Bishop of London at his father's table, and *he* never uttered a word on religion.

This young man was the son of a wealthy stockbroker, and at the age of twenty-five was appointed to the command of one of his father's ships, which early promotion turned his head. He was, without exception, the vainest man I ever met, and he often declared there was no profession in the world in which he was not capable of rising to the top.

He put the second officer in arrest on the plea of disobedience, but really, as we all knew, because the ladies paid more attention to his junior than to himself.

The captain conducted public worship on Sunday, but the passengers often met in our large stern cabin for reading the Bible and prayer.

We had a pleasant voyage to Calcutta, and after visiting Dr. Duff's and other Mission Institutions in that city, we embarked for Madras, and proceeded to Toomkoor, and I once more assumed charge of my Division, which was well cared for during my absence by my talented friend, Captain Chalmers, who shortly after retired from the service and returned to England.

BURMAH.

CHAPTER I.

Proceed with my Regiment to Burmah.—Incidents on Voyage and in connection with the Taking of Rangoon.

HAVING been directed to join my regiment (the 9th M.N.I.), under orders for Burmah, I embarked on the last day of March, 1852, in the East India Company's Man-of-War, the Moozuffer, and sailed the following day for Rangoon.

There were in all 1,500 souls on board, but Captain Borthwick and I had a fine large cabin between us, and our commanding officer and I were invited by the captain of the ship to mess at his table and share his splendid saloon. Thus I suffered no personal inconvenience, and my time was fully occupied in reading. The ship was furnished with a good library, which contained all the works then published on Burmah and the war of 1824.

Nothing of particular interest occurred during the voyage, except that there was great excitement one midnight, caused by the Sergeant-Major of my regiment

jumping overboard. He had been drinking hard in Madras before embarking, and was suffering from *delirium tremens*. A boat was at once lowered, and a sailor caught the poor man by his hair as he was sinking. He continued delirious during the rest of the voyage, but was placed under restraint.

The crowd was too great to admit of my speaking to the sailors on deck, but I had some interesting conversations on religion with officers of my own regiment, and also with several naval officers.

The captain swore a good deal the first day, but on being gently remonstrated with, restrained himself afterwards, and asked if he might not say, "God bless the Queen;" then turning to another officer, accounted for his change of conduct by remarking, "My oaths go through Captain Dobbs' heart."

We reached the mouth of the Irrawaddy on the 7th of April, and the General proposed attacking the stockades on the river opposite Rangoon, on Sunday the 11th, but the naval authorities objected on the ground that there was no necessity to break the Sabbath. Arrangements were consequently made for offensive operations the following morning. Through some mismanagement, the *Mozuffer* and *Sesostris* cast anchor within musket-shot of the stockade, when the batteries of the enemy opened on us. Providentially for us they had no gunners capable of taking our level. It can easily be imagined what havoc would have occurred among fifteen hundred men, at such close quarters, could the guns have been brought

to bear on us. During the first ten minutes our excitement was intense, as ammunition for both guns and muskets had to be brought up from the hold. After a short delay our sixty-eight pounders opened fire, accompanied by volleys from a thousand muskets, and the batteries were soon silenced.

A few of the Sepoys were wounded, and my arm-chair was smashed, but all the injuries sustained were caused by pieces of iron chain which struck the rigging and glanced downwards. Captain Armstrong of the 51st Foot in the *Feroz* was killed, and there were a few casualties among the rank and file in the other ships.

On the firing ceasing, boats were lowered and parties of soldiers and tars were landed to clear out the stockades. One singular incident occurred: a Burmese jumped out of the stockade into the river, and struck out, when all our Sepoys, before the officers could interfere, fired at him, as did also thousands from the other ships. We saw the balls striking round the poor fellow thick as hail, yet he escaped without a scratch, and was taken on board one of the ships, in a boat lowered for that purpose.

Another incident was the escape of a poor woman, drifting down the river in a small boat. Volley after volley was fired at her, and that by British soldiers, who doubtless acted thoughtlessly and on the impulse of the moment; there was, however, great indignation among all who witnessed the occurrence.

I had on this occasion an opportunity of observing the backwardness of regimental officers to assume responsi-

bility. The stockade opposite the *Mozuffer* was evidently abandoned, but the guns were left in position. Our Colonel was urged to send an officer and party on shore to spike the guns; he admitted this ought to be done, but as he had received no instructions on the subject, he could not act on his own responsibility. The next morning the guns were gone, to be used against us on the next occasion.

We landed after breakfast on Monday, and some of the outworks of the fort were cleared, but owing to delay in landing the siege train, the Fort itself was not attacked till Wednesday.

Five officers were struck down by the sun during the operations on the first day, two of whom died immediately, and the others were invalided. My Commanding Officer also had a narrow escape. We had some incidents on the first night which might have proved tragical, owing to the defective arrangements made by our General. Instead of having pickets posted by his own staff, and in communication with each other, he merely ordered each regiment to post a picket.

My company was the one selected by our Colonel. Soon after dark, bullets came whizzing over our heads from the jungle, at some distance, when my Subaltern and I directed the sentries, posted 200 yards in advance, to fire at the spot indicated by the next flash. On their firing the whole company became excited, and fired volley after volley, and the bullets whizzed over our heads. Eventually their firing was stopped, and no harm happened

either to officers or sentries. Shortly after, a message came from the officer commanding the picket of the 35th N.I. to inform us we had fired into them, and we afterwards learned that the firing from the jungle was by the picket of H. M. 51st. The probability is there was no enemy near us.

In two subsequent instances, I was convinced, officers were accidentally shot by our own men. In the first, our light company was skirmishing, or to speak more correctly, was occupying the woods in the vicinity of our camp, to dislodge any of the enemy who might be found lurking there. In the course of the afternoon an officer of another regiment requested me to take up his position in the wood, as he was ordered to the front. On my replying that the light company of the 9th were already there, he exclaimed, with great surprise, "Indeed!" and said no more. I had heard a good deal of firing, and the subaltern of our light company and one sepoy were wounded, though they had seen no Burmese anywhere.

In the second case, an officer of another regiment was severely wounded, evidently by one of his own men, as the enemy was not in sight. I will not particularize, as there was some indignation expressed by the officers of the regiment, at the supposition of their men having fired under nervous excitement, but really there was nothing to be ashamed of. The suspicion that a Burmese might be lurking under every tree was calculated to shake the strongest nerves of men who would be bold as lions with an enemy in view.

On the second day an alarm was given that a large body of the enemy was seen in the wood close to our encampment. I rushed into the wood, accompanied by a number of my men: the alarm turned out to be false; but when I got back I found my servant gone with my chair, blanket, and teapot. He returned late in the evening, and explained that he had learned during the former war (which he had gone through) to take care of his master's property in this way, an explanation I considered satisfactory. On the afternoon of the third day, the great Pagoda was stormed, and the Fort taken.

My company composed part of the rear-guard. Some bullets whizzed over my head, and spent-balls fell close to me, but otherwise I knew nothing of the fight.

One officer and a few men were killed; but the universal opinion of the army was, that an enterprising general would have taken the Fort the first day of our operations, and probably without loss.

We ascertained that the enemy had at first been strong in numbers; but that the governor was frightened by the shells from the ships bursting near him, and that after he retired to a pit for safety, he was wounded in the leg by the splinter of a shell. This convinced him that the shells had eyes and could see him; and he forthwith fled, with the main body of his army, leaving only 5,000 men behind.

The great Pagoda was the stronghold of the Fort. On the approach of the storming party, the Burmese were preparing to abandon it, without firing a shot, but through

some extraordinary blunder, which, as far as I know, was never satisfactorily accounted for, the bugle sounded the halt when our troops were half way up the steps, and the enemy supposing our men were afraid to advance, turned and delivered a volley, but fled on our men rushing forward. Late in the evening my company was ordered into the Fort, and as I supposed there had been a great slaughter of the enemy, I was afraid to lie down in the dark, lest I should find myself unpleasantly near a dead body.

My junior subaltern had fallen sick, and when Williams (the senior sub) and I asked the sentries for a drink of water, they said they had only a small supply mixed with native liquor. Williams took some, for which he suffered severely, as he was kept awake all night by burning thirst. I considered it was more prudent to bear moderate thirst than run any risk, and having no duty to keep me awake, enjoyed a good sleep on the ramparts, under the canopy of heaven.

During the first three days we lost, in all, seventy officers and men, but the sun was our principal enemy. At first we were encamped without shelter by day or night, but on Friday we occupied houses belonging to the Burmese priests.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of Rev. Vivian Bull and Rev. Mr. Burney—My Commanding Officer ordered to Bassein—Obtain command of Six Companies—Rebuilding of town—The American Missionaries—Account of the Karens—Trip up the river with Rev. Mr. Vinton.

CAPT. IRBY, the only decidedly religious man at that time in the regiment, remained for some days after we had taken the Fort on the bank of the river, two miles off, where I daily visited him for reading of the Scriptures and prayer. All the officers of the 9th lived at first in a large house, in which we also messed.

From the first I commenced public worship on Sunday, which was attended by all my brother officers, except one, who openly professed himself a sceptic. The first Sunday he remained in the room, and continued writing while the service was going on; of this I took no notice at the time, but afterwards spoke to him in a kindly way, about the propriety of respecting the feelings of others. The effect was that he privately sought information on the subject of Christianity, and we had some interesting conversations; his health, however, soon broke down, and he was obliged to leave Burmah.

I continued these services till the arrival, in June, of the chaplains from Bengal and Madras. The one from Madras was my old friend, Vivian Bull, with whom I had

some enjoyable seasons of prayer. He had come round by Calcutta, where he met with a heart-rending case of a hopeless death-bed. One of my brother Commissioners joined the force as a Volunteer, but shortly after the Fort was taken, an attack of acute dysentery obliged him to leave Rangoon, and proceed to Calcutta. Mr. Bull knew poor M.——— very well in Mysore, and visited him on his death-bed; the sick officer listened to all he said, but from first to last made but one response, "I am not fit to die." He had been often spoken to on the subject of religion, both by Capt. Chalmers and myself. This officer had excellent abilities, and, humanly speaking, might have had a brilliant career.

The following instance will further illustrate what I have already said about the backwardness of military men to assume responsibility, and how red tape often binds men in office.

A very large mail arrived from Madras on the 30th of April, and though the vessel was not proceeding beyond Rangoon, all the boxes were addressed to Moulmein. The almost universal conclusion arrived at was, that some stupid, ignorant clerk in the Madras post-office had made a mistake; yet it was considered necessary by the postal authorities to keep the boxes unopened till a ship was ready to take them on to Moulmein.

I went to our Brigadier (Elliott), and proposed his reporting the matter to the General, which he did. The General, however, would not venture to give any orders, but referred the case to the Commodore (Lambert).

This officer at first demurred on the ground that the General was the only authority after the boxes had been landed. I then introduced myself to the Commodore, and pleaded that all the married men, including myself, thought it a great hardship to be deprived of their letters for ten days, or longer.

The Commodore was a most amiable, kind-hearted man; and though he declined to accede to the formal official application, he was overcome by my personal pleading, went to the office, and gave the post-master authority to open the boxes. It was then found that the mail was for Rangoon, and not Moulmein!

After Captain Irby joined us, a small Poongée house was assigned to him and myself for our accommodation; with much thankfulness, I moved into it from the large building in which we were all crowded together.

This change enabled me to get our religious friends to assemble on Sunday evening, and on other occasions, for reading and prayer. Eleven thus met together, including the Colonel of the 35th N.I. After a while I began a week-day meeting for the soldiers, which was attended by about thirty.

Mr. Burney, the Bengal Chaplain, also got up lectures on secular subjects for the soldiers, in which I was happy to take a part. I believed that every means of improvement and healthy recreation, including out-door sports, would not only tend to keep the thoughtless out of temptation, but would also prove beneficial to religious men, by enlarging their minds.

In May my commanding officer was ordered to Bassein, with four companies of the 9th, and remained there on garrison duty after the capture of that place. The command of six companies thus devolved on me, including all the duties of a commandant; for, owing to the great delay in communicating with Bassein, the military authorities referred all matters connected with the regiment for my disposal, and an extra adjutant was appointed to assist me.

I was more than happy to get something to do, though this temporary promotion did not bring any extra remuneration.

It is now time to describe the marvellous effect which followed our occupation of the fort. The Burmese Governor had entirely destroyed the town, for the purpose of depriving our troops of cover and provisions, and this necessitated the flight of the inhabitants into the surrounding forests. They all flocked back as soon as their own troops disappeared, and set to work energetically to rebuild their houses. They also brought us supplies of all kinds.

The town sprang up like a mushroom; and this was equally true of the large village of Kemendine, which also had been destroyed.

The following incident will show the mutual confidence between us and the people.

There is a large lake near Rangoon, about six miles in circumference, on one side pretty open, and on the other with dense jungle close up to the water's edge.

About three weeks after our occupation I walked round this lake alone, without weapon of any kind. It never occurred to me that some of the Burmese soldiers, lurking in the vicinity, might take a pot-shot at me, till I heard a rustling among the trees. I could not detect any one, and believe there really was no danger. The *brave* soldiers had fled to a distance, and the people were our friends.

I also several times visited Kemendine, and on one occasion a young man came alongside of me, and, laughing, signified by signs that I was head and shoulders taller than himself.

The American Missionaries, with their families, returned to Rangoon from Moulmein as early as practicable.

Mr. Kincaid erected a comfortable house in the centre of the new town, with a large room to be used as a temporary chapel. In this room, for some time, I conducted a service on Sunday evenings, which was attended by many, including the missionaries. The latter availed themselves of my assistance to enable them to give more attention to their work among the natives.

One of the anomalous features of poor, weak human nature, connected with these engagements, was, that though these missionaries were happy to be led in worship by an Episcopalian layman, being close Baptists, they could not admit me to the Lord's table. I nevertheless greatly enjoyed my intercourse with these intelligent, excellent men; thankful for my own liberty

to serve the Lord in any way open to me. The Missionary to the Karens, Mr. Vinton, re-built the Mission-house in Kemendine, and commenced his work among that people, with his wonted energy and enthusiasm, ably assisted by his wife. I was sitting with them when the newspaper arrived which contained the reply from the wife of the President to the ladies of England, who had urged her to use her influence for the suppression of slavery in the United States. The reply was to the effect that when England got rid of the far worse slavery, which prevailed in collieries and manufactories, the ladies of that country might interest themselves about the defects of their neighbours.

Mrs. Vinton, though abhorring slavery, was proud of her country, and at once exclaimed, "Yes, she is quite right; there is very little difference between us." To this her husband replied, "There is all the difference in the world; the old country is doing everything to get rid of her abominations, but what are we doing?"

I may here give some account of the Karens, derived from personal intercourse and information derived from the Missionaries. These tribes were subject to the Burmese (I write only of those known to me in Lower Burmah), and in the war of 1824 welcomed our troops; by withdrawing our soldiers from Rangoon, on the termination of the war, we left them to their fate; yet on our return to the country they again attached themselves to us.

This people were in some respects very different from

the Burmese. The men were given to intemperate habits, but the women never drank any intoxicating beverage; they were much better-looking than the Burmese women, and modestly covered their breasts and neck. If we can credit the information given by the Missionaries, the Karen women were chaste beyond those of any other nation. I was assured that only one Karen woman was ever known to depart from the paths of virtue, and she was enticed to Moulmein under false pretences. She escaped on the first opportunity, and on returning home was cordially received by her family.

The women of this tribe, not only those who had embraced Christianity, but also those in heathenism shook hands with me with the most perfect ease and respect. Some time after we took Rangoon, but while still at war with the Burmese, I accompanied Mr. Vinton on a trip up the river, as he wished to visit some of his converts. In the course of our trip, and when about one hundred miles from Rangoon, Mr. Vinton proceeded inland a few miles, with the intention of spending the night in a Karen village. The head man of the Burmese village nearest to the point where our boat was anchored, put up for me within a couple of hours, a hut made with bushes and leaves; he also offered to send a guard for my protection during the night.

Through Mr. Vinton's catechist, I declined his kind offer, and explained that we had brought no weapons, that there was no enmity between us and the people, and I had the most perfect confidence in the protection of

God, who made us all. I never slept more soundly, having no one near me during the night, except my Madras servant.

Mr. Vinton rejoined me the next day, and we received the greatest attention and kindness during the trip. The only enemies we encountered were mosquitoes of an immense size, which infest the river.

There was one formidable description of foe often met with—pirate boats. Mr. Kincaid gave me an account of his encounter with one of them.

He was going up the river with his wife and children, when one of these boats was seen approaching; the only weapon in his boat was an old pistol with a broken lock, and when the pirate came within hearing, he presented his pistol, and with a loud voice, commanded his boatmen not to fire till he discharged his pistol. The *ruse* had the desired effect, the boat turned, and he burst into tears from over-strained nerves.

Before receiving the rite of baptism, the Karen converts were required to solemnly pledge themselves to abstain from all strong drink; and I had at least one independent testimony to their steadfastness, afforded by my brother-officers on their return from Bassein, where there were a considerable number of Karen Christians. The officers in every possible way endeavoured to make them drink wine and spirits, but could not, in a single instance, induce them to break their pledge.

CHAPTER III.

Incidents in the life of a Political Officer.—Explosion of a Magazine.—Sketches of Capt. John Rundall, R.E., and Lieutenant Cooke.—Various Anecdotes.

SOME incidents in the life of our political officer, Captain L——, may be interesting and calculated to shew young men that great abilities, when not under the control of right principle, prove a snare and not an advantage to the possessor.

Captain L—— was Interpreter and Assistant to the Commodore, in the early negotiations with the Burmese authorities, previous to war being determined on; and, in the judgment of the American Missionaries, founded on information derived from the natives, Captain L—— was responsible for the war.

He wished for it, as affording an opening for his inordinate ambition, and instead of being conciliatory in the interviews with the Governor, was quite the reverse. The Governor was known to declare that if peaceably-disposed ambassadors had been sent all might have been quietly settled. The Commodore being ignorant of the language was, of course, very much dependent on his Assistant, and in the final interview only a junior naval officer accompanied Captain L——.

I was brought into personal contact with this officer when I got the command of my regiment, and could not but admire his abilities. He occasionally joined our mess-table, and I would have considered him a welcome guest if he had not shocked me by profane swearing. On the first day he dined with us, after I assumed command, I addressed him in these words: "L. we would all greatly enjoy your genial and agreeable conversation if not interlarded with oaths." His reply was, "I declare I would burst if I did not let them out." He was not, however, offended, and we always remained on friendly terms, though he ceased coming to the mess. We met occasionally elsewhere, and he never again swore in my presence.

Some time after I was appointed member of a Committee of enquiry to investigate some of his reckless arbitrary proceedings. The General having disapproved of a proposal made by L—— to send a force against a robber's stockade, he secretly levied a force of 500 Burmese, and sent them to attack the stockade, under the command of a half-caste clerk. This *brave* fellow, on the first volley from the robber's stronghold, threw himself down in the bottom of the boat, and his party fled, with the loss of some of their number.

In the then disordered state of the country these proceedings might not have come to the knowledge of the General, had not L——'s emissaries extorted bribes from some of the better class of the people to escape impressment. The victims eventually complained, and an enquiry was ordered. Their complaints were fully sub-

stantiated, and also another complaint of Captain L—— taking the law into his own hands, and flogging an accused man in his private residence. Captain L—— was dismissed from his appointment, but subsequently obtained the post of Deputy-Commissioner in Burmah.

He had not, however, learned wisdom, especially in connection with the natives of the country. He often remarked at the mess-tables that he knew he would be assassinated from motives of jealousy or revenge. His apprehensions turned out to be well founded. He was found murdered in his bed, with a woman's clothes thrown on his body.

I always admired intellectual power and courage, and, while recognising God's righteous retribution, I mourned over this poor fellow's fate.

With the exception of robberies perpetrated by large gangs, the Fort and new town of Rangoon remained undisturbed, though there were constant rumours of intended night attacks, as also of conspiracies to blow up our powder magazines.

The troops were sometimes turned out at night by false alarms, but this was only a little excitement, which broke the dull monotony of garrison life. The most exciting and dangerous event which occurred was the explosion of one of the magazines.

The officers and men had erected a theatre close to one of these magazines, and fears were often expressed that through the carelessness of soldiers, who were not always sober, the theatre might take fire and blow up the

magazine. The result was exactly opposite, for the explosion destroyed the theatre.

The circumstances were as follows :—

A lascar cooked his food (he was seen doing so) under the magazine, which was raised on posts, and somehow or other, a spark from his fire must have found its way, through a crack or crevice in the floor, to the powder. Every movable article in my house, and, I believe, throughout the Fort, was more or less disturbed. I ran to the place, but was met by the chief engineer, who warned me that the explosion of two other magazines was imminent. Burning timbers actually fell upon one, but through the courage and energy of some of the officers and men, they were removed and extinguished, and no further harm resulted.

My oldest and most intimate friend in Burmah was Captain John Rundall, Field Engineer with the Madras army. I knew this officer from his first arrival in India ; and I will gratify my own feelings by giving a brief sketch of his career, which will, I am sure, be acceptable to many of his surviving friends. Rundall served with distinction in the war with China, and showed a noble disinterested spirit in allowing a general order, giving the credit of an exploit of his to another officer, to remain uncontradicted.

He was pre-eminently conscientious, and this was exemplified by his sending to the secretary of the total abstinence association his pledge card, and a self-inflicted fine of 50 rupees ; merely because he had, under the pangs of thirst, when in pursuit of the enemy, drank

some water mixed with brandy, when there was no other liquid procurable.

On his return to Madras he married a lady of his own deep religious character; her father, the senior member of the revenue board, though not considered a religious man, declaring that he would prefer his young friend Rundall (then a subaltern), as a son-in-law to the officer of the hightest rank in India. Rundall was in Coorg when he received orders to proceed to Burmah, and *en route* to Madras, spent a few hours with me in Mysore. At the time I had no expectations of having to join my regiment, but my orders arrived late in the evening. Mrs. Rundall had a most distressing presentiment, that her husband was not to return.

During the war, Rundall distinguished himself, and saved the life of an officer of the Bengal Engineers, by killing a powerful Burmese, who had overpowered him. And on another occasion, at night, he gave his blanket to another officer, and this act of self-denial brought on an attack of fever.

We were much together, till the end of September, when he proceeded with the advanced column to Prome.

I must here mention an incident which occurred when I dined with him at the engineer mess (which included the officers of both Presidencies).

During dinner, the medical officer attached to the engineers, advanced some gross infidel opinions, which I felt constrained to controvert on the principle laid down by Solomon, "Answer a fool according to his folly," for his arguments were not deserving of serious refutation.

All present, most of them young engineers, expressed their satisfaction at the rebuke I administered, by striking the table with their fists. This made Dr. P. very angry, and he charged me with having used ungentlemanly language. The Colonel, though himself a sceptic, was upright and honourable, and he at once stopped the Dr., saying, "Captain Dobbs has said nothing that is unfair or objectionable." When Rundall and I left the mess-house he, being very deaf, observed, "What did that man say? He looked a fiend, but I could not catch a word."

Shortly after his arrival in Prome, Rundall contracted a severe fever, which caused his friends much anxiety, but he wrote to me reporting his complete recovery; however, a few days after, the tidings of his death from cholera was communicated by a friend, and his wife heard of the painful event before his last letter reached her.

I had been expecting to follow my dear friend to Prome, and I grieved to think he would not be there. He was truly ripe for the blessed change, being lowly in spirit, yet decided in doctrine and practical religion. He died surrounded by a group of sorrowing friends, most of them his brother-officers, and shortly before he passed away said, "Tell all I am very happy."

Many of my friends accompanied the column to Prome, as also several soldiers of H.M. 57th foot and an artillery-man, all of whom had either been converted, or restored from back-sliding, through our meetings in Rangoon.

A friend in Madras sent me a small library, containing

both secular and religious books, for the use of the men. These were greatly prized, the more so, they themselves said, because their own officers had not made any provision for their entertainment. Mr. Bull united with us in our officers' meeting, but his many engagements prevented his taking part in those got up for the soldiers.

The following instances will illustrate some of the various characters met with in the world.

An officer who attended the soldiers' meeting, happened to meet in Rangoon with some Mormon emissaries, who persuaded him to join their sect, under the assurance that the stories about their immorality were untrue, and that their doctrines were confirmed by miracles. When I expostulated with him, he defended his conduct on the plea that he was bound to believe every man's profession till proved to be wrong. As I considered his example was likely to be injurious to uneducated soldiers, I requested him to give up attending our meeting.

He was baptised, and ordained an elder, but very soon left his new friends, and denounced them as impostors and villains.

Three soldiers recently arrived in Rangoon came to me one day for conversation before the commencement of our meeting. I soon ascertained that they were ignorant of my principle of union with all true believers; that they were, in fact, "exclusive brethren." As the most satisfactory way of fully explaining my views, I selected that evening for exposition the 4th chapter of Ephesians. After the meeting was over, Corporal Cole

remarked to me, these men will never come again; and he was right, I never saw them afterwards.

The following account of Lieut. Cooke, of the Madras Commissariat, will, I am sure, be considered interesting. This young officer and Lieut. Forlong were great favourites of Brigadier M'Neil, commanding Vellore; the Brigadier volunteered for Burmah, and urged his young friends to follow his example. Forlong declined, saying that on principle he disapproved of volunteering, but if ordered to Burmah would gladly serve under the Brigadier. Cooke obtained permission to accompany his friend, and both volunteered to go on to Pegue. The younger officer had to obtain special permission from the head of his department, as his own duties did not require his presence at Pegue.

Shortly after his arrival he was standing with the General and his Staff before the Fort, and the first shot fired passed through his lungs; and on the same day Brigadier M'Neil was struck down by the sun.

Cooke was brought into Rangoon, where he had many friends to attend to his body, but my special privilege was to read to and pray with him. For some days hopes of his recovery were entertained, but pieces of bone had lodged in one of his lungs, which caused great agony; he was, however, wonderfully supported, never lost the assurance of his salvation, and enjoyed much of his Saviour's presence.

Two or three days before his death he became unconscious, and I prayed earnestly that ere he departed con-

sciousness might be restored, and that my dear young brother might be enabled to bear once more his dying testimony to the love of God in Christ Jesus. My prayer was abundantly answered; consciousness was restored, and the dying Christian expressed to those around him his perfect happiness, and then almost immediately relapsed into unconsciousness, and died the following forenoon.

The Brigadier never recovered consciousness from the moment he was struck down, and nothing could be known of his state of mind, but his friend Forlong wrote to me that he had often known him to weep over his sins.

Without attempting to draw any conclusions from these facts, I may observe that the extraordinary mortality among the officers who volunteered for service was often the subject of conversation in Burmah. It may be that the volunteers were too rash.

I cannot here omit giving an instance of the strong bond which exists between those who love the Lord Jesus. Major —— had a severe attack of confluent smallpox, which was considered so infectious that his own relatives were afraid to approach the door, much less enter the house with the sick man; yet a young ensign and I, though Major —— was personally unknown to us before his arrival in Rangoon, constantly visited him to comfort him by reading the Word of God. We both felt this to be a duty of love, and we had no personal fear of infection. We however could, and did make allowance for

men who looked not beyond second causes, and had the fear of death before them—a fear from which, by the grace of God, we had been delivered. Our friend after some weeks of suffering recovered, and still lives.

I have often observed that men who would march to the cannon's mouth without fear, are alarmed when they come in contact with infectious or contagious disease.

All the officers who met at my house, with the exception of Irby, accompanied the column to Prome, but by fresh arrivals our numbers increased. One young officer, who had recently joined my regiment, came once, but did not return, giving as his reason that he was afraid if he came again he would be converted, which reminded me of St. Augustine's prayer, "Lord, give me the victory over my lust, but not yet."

The soldiers' meeting was still more largely attended, and my house was generally filled. I cannot, however, say that I was aware of results coming up to my expectations.

Mere military operations do not come within the scope of my programme, but I must say, from first to last, the Burmese, as soldiers, were despicable foes; though bold daring men were to be found in the gangs of robbers, who plundered all, friend and foe alike.

CHAPTER IV.

Visit to Moulmein—Escape of the American Missionaries and others—Evangelistic work—Anecdotes—Return to Rangoon—Exploit of Lieuts. Travers, and Clogston—Attack on Stockade of Robber Chief.

ALL being quiet in Rangoon and neighbourhood, I got a month's privilege leave to visit Moulmein, for which place I embarked on the 1st of January, 1853. I had intended to stay with my old friend, Col. Charles Wahab, but as he had been ordered to join the force marching to Tonghoo, I was on arrival welcomed by Melville Hare, a young officer, and son of my old Cape friends.

In Moulmein I had the great pleasure of meeting several families who were of one mind with myself in religion. I also made the acquaintance of the American Missionaries, amongst whom were Mr. and Mrs. Wade, who had passed through all the horrors of the war of 1823-24, and gave me an account of their escape.

When Rangoon was attacked, the families of the Missionaries, together with the American and English residents, who had left before the arrival of the fleet, were confined in the Custom-house near the river's bank, and orders were given to execute them on the first gun being fired by the ships. Some of the balls struck the

building, and passed through it close to the occupants, who looked upon them as friends, and the roar of the cannon as sweeter than music. At first the guards fled, but shortly returned, and conveyed their prisoners some distance, that the executioners might, beyond the range of the guns, perform their work of death.

They had not, however, estimated the distance aright, and the friendly balls again brought deliverance. The guards then carried the party to the great pagoda, confined them in a small prison, and went to the authorities for further instructions.

The jailor, who appears to have had a friendly feeling for the Missionaries, locked the door and carried off the key. Shortly after, the Burmese officials came to carry out their original purpose; but on finding the door locked and the jailor absent, they concluded the prisoners had been removed to some other place.

A period of terrible suspense then followed, as the inmates of the prison listened to the roar of cannon, and volleys from small arms, and the mingled voices of Burmese and English. At last they heard the voice of a giant calling for the key, followed by thundering knocks at the door, which Sir Archibald Campbell, the Commander-in-Chief, actually kicked open.

All danger was now over, and for the first time the prisoners broke down; the lengthened strain told fearfully on their nerves.

The Wades were the only Baptists in Burmah who rose above sectarian prejudices, and invited me to join

them at the Lord's Table, with their native congregation. This Missionary's work was entirely among the natives.

The first Sunday I was at Moulmein I went to the Church in the morning, and to the Baptist Chapel in the evening. The chaplain of the former was very high Church, and the minister of the latter, Mr. S., a cold, dry preacher; the consequence was his English congregation was very small. He invited me to conduct the service, and preach the two following Sunday evenings. On the first I had a large congregation, and on the second nearly all the officers and ladies in Moulmein attended.

Instead of writing from memory, I annex an extract from a letter to my wife, which gives the result of my visit to this delightful cantonment: "I preached to the Burmese congregation, through an interpreter, at half-past ten, and in the evening, to a large assembly of my countrymen. I never, since we left the Cape, so fully realised the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, preaching for an hour from Ephesians vi. 11, 12.

"Some of the gayest ladies in Moulmein were present; and I may say, with the most perfect literal truth, the most fixed attention was evinced from beginning to end. I hear that much interest in the truth has been excited. God grant that there may be more than passing impressions. Captain Johnstone, the oldest religious officer here, says that I am abundantly compensated by the fruits of this visit alone, for all the personal sacrifice involved in my being sent to Burmah. The condescension of my

God, owning my poor labours, humbles me to the dust; and though God knows that the first and overpowering object of my heart is to glorify Him by bringing sinners to repentance, horrid self mixes with every effort to do good."

I greatly enjoyed my visit in every way, and saw much of the beauties of the Martaban River, and the surrounding country, but all this is to be found exquisitely described by others. The following incidents, however, may be interesting.

Captain H. was sent up the river to occupy a stockade, and his most intrepid little wife wished to accompany him; this, of course, could not be permitted, but the lady was not to be balked. She persuaded the Assistant Commissioner to provide her with a boat, in which she went alone, and joined her husband to his great surprise. As she could not be induced to return to Moulmein, the authorities solved the awkward predicament by sending another detachment to relieve Captain H. and his company.

Captain H. and his wife, while living in the stockade, had a narrow escape from being sent prisoners to Ava. They crossed the river to see some remarkable caves, when they were observed by some Burmese, and this led to an ambuscade being prepared for their capture should they again cross the river. They actually planned an excursion for the following day, but were providentially hindered by some unforeseen contingency. The following incident was both curious and tragic.

On our troops marching onward from Martaban, a soldier saw smoke issuing from a large bamboo, and went close for the purpose of examining it. The bamboo proved to be a Burmese gun, which the retreating enemy had charged, and left with a slow match attached. The poor fellow was standing opposite to its mouth, when it exploded, blowing him to pieces.

I was wonderfully braced by the Moulmein climate, and returned to Rangoon in the end of January, refreshed in mind and body. I may honestly say that daily intercourse with a number of my fair countrywomen, after being for nine months debarred from female society, was even more refreshing than the climate; and I continue to indulge a fond hope that I may have led some of them to seek their happiness in the Heavenly Bridegroom.

Soon after my return to Rangoon, I accompanied the three Missionaries to a place some miles off, where the first church had been built outside of Rangoon for the Burmese, as distinguished from the Karens. This little trip was interesting to me as affording some intercourse with the native Christians, and I also was present at a baptism administered by Mr. Kincaid, the senior Missionary: he went into the water without changing his dress, or even pulling off his boots, and afterwards rode home, wet as he was.

This baptism was the more interesting from the fact that the Missionaries had not previously heard of the convert; they were, however, satisfied from the report of their native assistant, that the man was ready for baptism.

I can vouch for the fact that the American Missionaries were very cautious in administering the rite of baptism, and had deferred baptising hundreds of Karens who wished to join the Christian Church, but of whose conversion they were doubtful. At Rangoon we heard of the uninterrupted successful march of General Steele to Tonghoo, and of an amusing instance of youthful impetuosity which occurred on the march.

Lieutenant Clogston had ascertained that an ex-Governor of the Burmese, with an armed force, had been seen at some distance from the camp, and he could not resist the impulse to have an adventure; accompanied by twenty horsemen of the native irregular cavalry, he went in pursuit without the knowledge of the General.

The General's Aid-de-Camp, Lieutenant Travers, hearing of Clogston's departure, was satisfied there was something in the wind, and started after him. They soon came up to the enemy, and without hesitation charged them, though the force was 300 strong, and all armed; the Burmese at once surrendered, throwing down their arms, the ex-Governor alone escaping into the jungle. The victorious party found a number of elephants and ponies with the baggage; but whilst considering what was the next step to be taken, a strong force of infantry and cavalry arrived from the camp. The young officers, being special favourites, got off with a reprimand for their escapade.

Nothing particular occurred in Rangoon during the next five months, but I continued my several meetings

We heard, however, of disastrous conflicts with robber chiefs—men who had long defied their own Government, and were now the only enemies we had to deal with. One chief inflicted a severe defeat on a considerable force, composed of soldiers and sailors under the command of Captain Locke, R.N. This officer was a religious man, with all the reckless daring of a sailor. Though strongly advised to the contrary, he attacked the robbers' stockade in front, instead of at a weak point in rear, which, however, would have involved a considerable circuit. The attacking party was suddenly stopped by a deep ravine, from the other side of which a murderous fire was poured into them by an unseen enemy. Two naval and several infantry officers were killed, and a number of men and officers wounded. Notwithstanding this great loss, the remainder of the force made good their retreat, and carried off their wounded.

I have nothing special to relate from February to May, in which month I was, by a rather singular providence, sent to Madras.

I accidentally heard that an effective officer would probably be sent in command of a large number of invalids, as there was not a single sick officer in Rangoon. I at once wrote to Travers, the A.D.C., and requested him to put my name before the General, who had not then heard of the proposed arrangement. The next day General Steele was informed by the officers of his staff that it was necessary to send an effective officer with the invalids, and they submitted the names of two officers

for his selection. The General replied, "I have already chosen an officer, Capt. Dobbs."

Accordingly I embarked on the 21st of May in a small sailing vessel, with sixty native and forty European invalids. I had, however, some difficulties to overcome.

The apothecary sent to me was himself an invalid, and utterly useless; he brought also by mistake a wrong box of medicine. This I at once sent back to the Surgeon-General, and requested he would send me the proper box, and an effective apothecary. The medicine chest was soon brought by Dr. Davidson's personal apothecary, who conveyed a polite message, intimating the Surgeon-General's regret that he could not send another medical officer.

On receiving this communication, I considered it my duty to retain the man sent with the message, and I intimated having done so to the chief military and medical authorities. When we were near the mouth of the river, a swift boat, one with a double crew, was observed coming after us. This boat conveyed an effective apothecary, who brought me a note from Dr. Davidson, expressing great consternation at the thought of losing his most trusted and valued assistant, and he twice repeated, "Do not keep Apothecary Brown."

Poor Brown was truly disappointed, for though he had not brought any clothes, except those on his back, he was, like myself, hoping soon to see his wife and children.

The weather was very mild, and when we got out to sea, the wind was so light, the captain hoisted his large summer sails, and in perfect confidence, all the ports were kept open. We thus made slow progress, when after two or three days, a sudden squall very nearly sent us to the bottom. The Lascar crew completely lost their presence of mind, and could do nothing while the sea was pouring into the port-holes. The soldiers then hurried to the rescue, and cut the sail ropes, when the vessel righted. Had there not been Europeans on board we must have gone down in a minute or two.

After this, we had fair winds for some days; there was, however, a great swell, and there were constant squalls. Contrary winds retarded our progress along the Sumatra coast, and we were not able to reach Acheen, though in sight for some days; the only compensation for the delay was the view we obtained of the Golden Mountain, 7,000 feet high, which I felt a great desire to ascend.

We reached the Bay of Bengal about the 1st of June, when we encountered a hurricane. Our captain, though a good sailor, had been worn out and unnerved by fatigue and want of sleep, having been obliged to remain on deck for several successive nights. At midnight, on the 3rd of June, he knocked at my cabin door, and said there was every appearance of a cyclone ahead, and that if I did not object he would put back to Acheen, from which place we were then ninety miles distant. I replied he must exercise his own judgment, but I thought

he was acting rightly in getting out of the influence of the cyclone.

We sailed back slowly; but when half the distance had been traversed, the storm abated, and we stood again on our course, and owing to the prevalence of contrary winds were much retarded, sometimes making only three or four knots in a day.

On the 14th a fair wind set in, which enabled us, though the sea was very rough, to reach Madras on the 21st. Those who believe that God answers prayer will not fail to mark the coincidence that the favourable change in the weather commenced on the day my wife received my letter from Rangoon, announcing my intended departure in a small vessel at the commencement of the monsoon. I do believe her prayer was heard.

This voyage was more trying than all my travels by land and sea put together, and till the few days preceding our arrival, the constant storms and contrary winds gave us no rest. Our small vessel of 500 tons was also only half manned, the captain having given leave to half the crew, not expecting to be sent across the Bay of Bengal during the monsoon. Many of the natives and some of the European soldiers came on board in a dying state, and dropped off one after another. All this was depressing, yet there was a bright side.

Captain Castor was a pious man, and was happy to have not only public service on Sunday, but also daily worship, which was attended by some of the convalescent Protestant soldiers. Twelve of these men gave their

cordial assistance in the management of the ship, and without their aid the *Lascar* crew could not have held out.

Some of the sick men also asked me to read and pray with them ; of these, two died happy in the Lord, and one of them named Horsley had attended my meetings in Rangoon. I was also cheered by the prospect of soon seeing my family.

The unnatural influence of Popery was evidenced in the following instance during the voyage. The comrade of a dying man persuaded him to leave all his money to the priests to pay for masses, though he had a wife dependent on him. Of course this will could not have been complied with, even if I had approved of it.

Having fulfilled all the duties connected with my command, I left Madras, and reached Toomcoor on the 24th of June, where I was allowed to remain with my family for two months, pending expected orders, for all staff officers to return to their appointments. An order issued by the Governor-General appeared to clash with these expectations, and I was directed to return to my regiment *via* Calcutta. After spending a fortnight there, which I employed visiting all the missionary and educational institutions, I returned to Rangoon in October.

Lord Dalhousie paid his second visit to Rangoon in the beginning of the year, when I was informed by a demi-official note from his private secretary that my return to my appointment in Mysore depended on the Madras Government. I shewed the note to Sir J. Cheape,

who observed that all the politicals were humbugs, and that they only wanted to get rid of my application by a side-wind. I replied that I could not agree with him, and the kind old man gave me leave to proceed to Madras.

On my arrival I presented my note to the Governor, who, on enquiry, ascertained that the Governor-General's order applied exclusively to the officers of the Bengal regiments, so many of whom held civil and staff appointments that their return from regimental duty would have left their respective regiments inadequately officered.

The result of my application was the return of all the Madras staff officers to their appointments. Thus, as is often the case, the action of one man benefited many.

To obviate the possibility of any misconception, I would here mention that I would not have applied for permission to leave my regiment had the war not been concluded.

I will conclude these sketches by briefly contrasting the state of society in the army during the first war, in 1823-24, and during that of 1852-53. In the former there were but few books, and a very irregular and deficient supply of newspapers. In the latter, we had a good supply of books, both secular and religious, a plentiful supply of newspapers and other literature, and lectures on various subjects, with other entertainments for the benefit of the men.

During the former war there were very few chaplains in India, and little or no provision could be made for

the religious instruction of the troops scattered over the country. Want of occupation led to drinking and gambling, and a painful instance of the latter was mentioned to me by my friend, General Browne. An officer, having lost everything else, at last staked his mattress and blankets; his companion again won, and coolly ordered his servant to take away the articles, leaving the other officer with nothing but the clothes on his back. The demoralising effect of such habits need not be dwelt upon.

During my sojourn in Burmah no cases of gambling came to my knowledge, and I heard very little of drinking among the officers.

I must refer to one other point, the most painful of all—viz., the almost universal immorality which prevailed throughout the army during the first war. Of course it cannot be pretended that during the latter war all men were moral; but even individual cases of open, unblushing effrontery were not heard of. The tone of society had greatly improved, and sin kept to dark corners, and this was in a great measure the result of the recreations provided to occupy the minds of both soldiers and officers.

Buddhism, the religion of Burmah, altogether discountenances marriage; the result is, marriage is a matter of private arrangement, absolutely devoid of binding power, and the European, alas, too often, just comes down to the level of the low morals of those among whom he resides.

I cannot conclude this reference to the war of 1824 without mentioning that the force sent to Burmah by Lord Amherst was accompanied by the first steamer ever built in India, a small iron craft, called the *Diana*, and this contributed to our success, as there was a Burmese prophecy to the effect that their country could not be conquered till iron could swim. This little steamer has the honour of figuring upon the medal, which was given to all native ranks engaged in that war.

APPENDIX.

Inauguration of the Statue of the late Lieut.-General Sir Mark Cubbon, K.C.B.

Sir Mark Cubbon's state of health did not admit of his receiving those public honours on his departure from Bangalore, which all classes, Europeans and natives, were anxious to confer on him; but a large sum was raised to erect some memorial to perpetuate his name in the Mysore territory, which he had governed for twenty-seven years.

The Committee of Management decided that an Equestrian Statue was the most suitable, and would gratify the natives, and one was accordingly ordered from Baron Maroschetti.

This Statue was placed on a massive granite pedestal, in the centre of the parade ground, and was unveiled on the 16th of March, 1866, in the presence of an immense assembly.

All the troops in the Cantonment were drawn up on two sides, and very few, if any, of the European inhabitants were absent. The ladies, of whom a large number graced the occasion, were accommodated under a

spacious canopy, beyond which the natives congregated in thousands, and on one side pressed close up to the platform occupied by the Chief Commissioner and the principal officers.

After the unveiling of the statue and the firing of the salute, Mr. Bowring, Chief Commissioner, gave an address, and expressed his admiration of the abilities and high character of his illustrious predecessor. He was followed by Col. Dobbs, Commissioner of the Nundydroog Division, who, with much warmth, described in glowing terms the many good qualities of the chief, whom he had loved and respected, and with whom he had so cordially worked for so many years.

On the completion of the new Public Offices, the *Cubbon Statue* was removed from the Parade ground, and placed in a commanding position in front of that fine range of buildings, where it is much admired.

The likeness to the late General is remarkably good, and the success achieved by Baron Maroschetti is mainly due to the assistance he received from Major Martin, a gifted artist, and formerly an officer of the Mysore Commission.

Copies of Addresses presented to Colonel R. S. Dobbs, extracted from the *Bangalore Spectator.*

"The members of the Deputation, accompanied by Lieutenant-General Cleveland, Major-General Haines, Mr. S. G. Wallace, Mr. N. Page, Rev. S. Dalzell, &c.,

met Colonel R. S. Dobbs at Government House, on Saturday morning, the 30th inst., at half-past seven o'clock, and presented him with an Address. It was read by the Rev. T. Hodson, and then placed in a silver tube, bearing the following inscription :—

"ADDRESS presented to Colonel R. S. DOBBS, Mysore Commission, on the 30th of March, 1867, by the European community of Bangalore, on the occasion of his leaving India.

"DEAR SIR,

"As in the order of Divine Providence, the time has arrived for your departure from India, we, the undersigned representatives of the European inhabitants of Bangalore, desire to convey to you the expression of our esteem for your character, and regret at your departure.

"We express no opinion as to the manner in which you have discharged your public duties during the forty years this country has had the benefit of your services, as that will doubtless be appropriately recognised by official authority. We confine ourselves to the spirit of your life as a private gentleman and a senior member of the civil and religious community to which we belong. And having had the opportunity of knowing you, some of us almost from the commencement of your career in India, we cannot but rejoice that your walk and conversation have been eminently consistent with your Christian profession. We can bear witness to the earnest and catholic spirit in which you have worked, heartily uniting with all the denominations of the Protestant Christian Church in the furtherance of every good work, and extending far and wide with an impartial hand your benevolence and charity.

"We are, therefore, not astonished to hear that the native community throughout the Mysore Province, constrained to admire this consistency of character, and appreciating your successful endeavour in their behalf, more especially in the Chittledroog Division, with the improvement and development of which your name is so thoroughly identified, have come forward most generously to comme-

morate these services in a manner that must be most gratifying to you. And we are pleased to think that neither will your name be unknown to the European and East Indian youths of coming generations, for at a recent meeting of your friends, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

> " 'That in the opinion of this meeting, the most appropriate manner in which the remembrance of Col. R. S. Dobbs' long and honourable career in the Mysore country may be perpetuated, is by establishing a fund for the purpose of awarding annually a gold medal, to be called "*The Dobbs Medal*," to be competed for by all Protestant Students of whatever race, class, or denomination, who have been educated in the Mysore country, for the period of at least two years immediately preceding the examination, and whose age shall not be more than nineteen years. The examination to be confined to a knowledge of Scripture, and conducted orally and by written papers in the English language, on those broad principles upon which all Protestant Christians are agreed.'

" Although we regret your removal from amongst us, and shall miss you as a kind and hospitable member of society, and as a wise and active coadjutor in every praiseworthy undertaking, yet we cannot but rejoice that you go back to your native land with such a measure of health and strength as will enable you still further to advocate and support the good cause you have so much at heart.

" Another great cause of congratulation is that in leaving India you do not return alone. The wife of your youth has been mercifully spared to be your companion in age; and that you and she may live for many years to diminish each other's sorrows, and to increase each other's joys, is the sincere desire of your many friends and well-wishers in every part of the Mysore country."

" *Bangalore*,
" *30th March*, 1867."

Signed by upwards of one hundred members of the European Community, Civil and Military.

After the delivery of the Address, Colonel Dobbs made the following Reply :

"I have long enjoyed and valued your friendship, but never looked for nor expected any public expression of your approbation or recognition of my endeavours to promote, in common with yourselves, the religious and temporal welfare of our fellow-creatures.

"I do not, however, the less heartily thank you for the honour conferred on me—an honour which is enhanced ten-fold, as coming from the representatives of all the Protestant denominations in Bangalore. By a singular coincidence we have met on the 39th anniversary of my first visit to Bangalore, on which occasion I formed a solemn resolution to hold communion with all Protestant Churches, and make the unity of Christians of every denomination the great aim of my life. By the grace and help of God, I have never swerved from the spirit of that resolution : as fully recognised in your Address. How grateful then is it to my feelings to have not only lay friends, but also ministers of all Protestant denominations, united this day to perpetuate my memory in connection with the promotion of Scriptural knowledge in Mysore, where my wife and I have spent a long and happy life, with which all our associations are pleasant, for, in strict truth, I can say we have experienced nothing but kindness and consideration from our friends, and are not conscious of having, during thirty-three years residence, been pained by one unfriendly act or unkind word. Accept our united grateful thanks and affectionate farewell, with the humble hope of our meeting again in that kingdom where there shall be no more partings or separations for ever."

"On Saturday afternoon, the 6th April, a Farewell Address was presented to Colonel R. S. Dobbs in the Centre Hall of the Government High School, on behalf of the native community. There were present C. B. Saunders, Esq., C.B., most of the other officers of the Commission, and several clergymen and members of the non-official community, besides between three and four hundred of the leading native gentlemen of Bangalore.

"The room was crowded: so much so, that many were obliged to stand outside the entrance of the Hall. The proceedings were opened by Mr. Murry Gungiah, reading the following Address:—

"DEAR SIR,

"As you are shortly to depart to your native land after an unusually long, honourable, and useful career in this country, we, the undersigned, beg to convey to you our sincere regret at the event, and to take this opportunity of expressing publicly the high esteem in which you are held by the native community of the Mysore country, and the gratitude with which we shall always remember our connection with you.

"You entered the Mysore Commission thirty-three years ago, and have been a co-operator with our much esteemed and lamented General Sir Mark Cubbon, in all the reforms which that able statesman effected in the various branches of the administration, as well as those improvements carried out by his talented successors, Mr. Saunders and Mr. Bowring.

"In your capacity of Superintendent of the Chittledroog Division, you accomplished the arduous duty of reducing a number of rebellious Polygars to subjection, and of putting down the numerous predatory tribes who had long devastated that part of the country.

"It would, though a pleasant, be a very lengthy, task to enumerate all your beneficial acts, beginning, as they do, at a period when most of us were mere children; but we cannot deny ourselves the satisfaction of giving prominent mention on this occasion to your anxious and untiring endeavours to promote the interest and welfare of the agricultural classes.

"The abolition of the numerous oppressive and vexatious petty taxes under which the cultivators had long laboured, the conversion of the Batayee system of assessment into one of money payment, and the repairing or the restoring of many old dilapidated tanks and irrigation works, are measures which, having been successfully carried out on your suggestion, have identified you with the present prosperity of all classes, and have endeared you specially to the Ryots, insomuch that they in their simple way have bestowed upon

you the familiar but expressive epithet of 'Dobbs Saib,' our 'Halay Gowdah.'

"Your merit in private life has not been less worthy of praise than your public character. Your piety, benevolence, and charity have always been conspicuous; you have uniformly, both by word and deed, expressed your sympathy with real distress, have endeavoured to relieve it, and have spared no pains to promote, by precept and example, the principles of truth and sound morality.

"As a lasting, though by no means an adequate, token of our esteem for your public and private character, and our gratitude for the many benefits conferred upon us, we have collected a fund with which we propose to perpetuate your name in our country, by founding two scholarships, to be called the 'Dobbs' Scholarships,' the benefit of which endowment is to be participated in equally by the Students of the Government High School, and those of the Wesleyan Mission School, in which latter institution you have ever manifested so great an interest, and in which many of us were educated.

"With our most sincere prayers to the Almighty for the safe return of Mrs. Dobbs and yourself to your native land, and for your prolonged health and prosperity, we bid you farewell."

Signed by a large number of Hindu and Mahommedan gentlemen.

"After reading the above, a similar Address was read in Canareese and Hindustani, by Messrs. Etherajulu Naidoo Garoo, and Abdool Khadar Saib.

"Colonel Dobbs then replied as follows:—

"MY DEAR FRIENDS,

"It is impossible for me to be otherwise than gratified and pleased by the spontaneous expression of regard conveyed by your Address, accompanied, as it is, by a lasting memorial of your friendship and appreciation of my labours amongst you. The union of all classes and all castes in doing me honour shows that I have not been altogether unsuccessful in carrying out a system of impartiality in ad-

ministering justice and dispensing patronage—an impartiality which the most enlightened and best educated among you can more fully understand and appreciate. While heartilly thanking you all for perpetuating my memory by the endowment of scholarships, I would with peculiar pleasure dwell on the generous tribute you have paid to my highest aspirations, in affiliating one of the scholarships with an institution wherein the Sacred Book of Christians is prominently taught—a book which, as is well known to you, I value above all the wisdom, learning, and riches of the whole world.

"Recognising many familiar faces in the company present this day, as those of public servants who have long worked under me, I would thank them for their services, and express my firm conviction that my success as an Executive Officer is due to the mutual confidence and kindly feelings which have always existed between my subordinates and myself. I could have done nothing without that confidence, and they are entitled to a full share of the credit due for the many improvements which have been successfully effected by our united labours.

"Equally with yourselves, I venerated that great statesman, Sir Mark Cubbon, and we all learned much from his wisdom and great experience. The improvements commenced during our old General's Administration have been rapidly carried out by his able successors, to whose consideration and cordial support I am greatly indebted, and whose policy has ever been liberal and generous.

"Although returning to my native land, Mysore will always possess a full share of my own and Mrs. Dobbs' thoughts and affections, and we will ever rejoice in the prosperity and happiness of all classes, above all in the increase of knowledge, morality, and true religion. I would again thank you from my heart, and bid you an affectionate farewell in my own and Mrs. Dobbs' name."

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